LETTERS OF WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D.

EDITED BY B. J. KIDD.

WITH MEMOIR BY P. G. MEDD.

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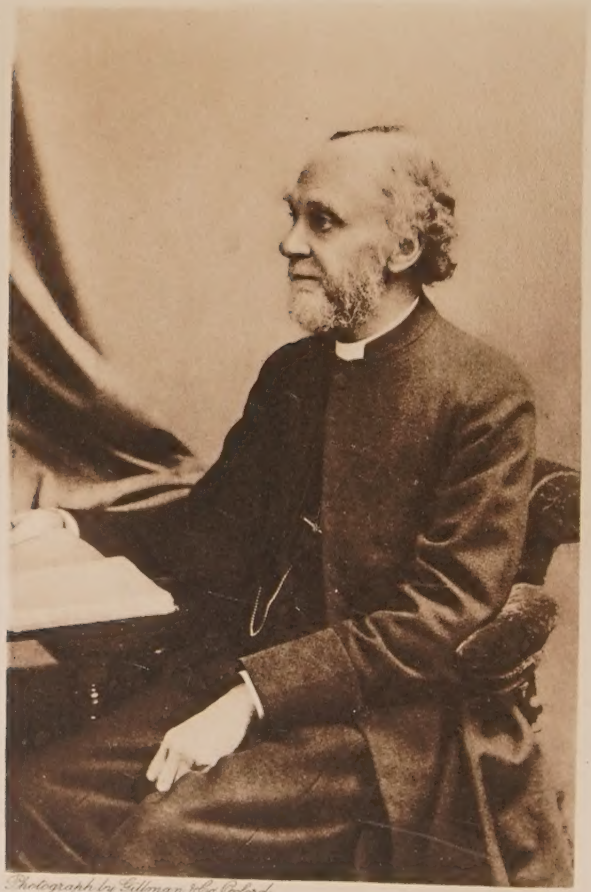

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W. Wright

Selected Letters

of

William Bright, D.D.

Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the University of Oxford; Canon of Christ Church

Edited by the

Rev. B. J. Kidd, B.D.

Keble College, Oxford; Tutor of Non-Collegiate Students, and Lecturer in Theology at Pembroke College

With an Introductory Memoir

by the

Rev. P. G. Medd, M.A.

Formerly Fellow and Tutor of University College, Oxford

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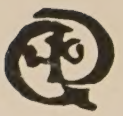

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INTRODUCTORY NOTE

In sending forth this Memoir, and selection from the correspondence, of the late Dr. Bright, we desire to thank his many friends who have placed at our disposal diaries, letters, and other reminiscences. Without their co-operation our task would have been impossible. In arranging his letters it was thought best to follow, in the main, an order of subjects rather than of dates; while in selecting, those only have been taken which either vividly recall some personal trait, or seem likely to prove of permanent value to the Church as containing his judgment on the points with which they deal. To put his correspondent in possession of the grounds on which his judgment was based, Dr. Bright frequently indicated his authorities. These references have been preserved in the text of the letters, while in the notes others have been added, both to the originals he had in mind and to his own further handling of them in his published works. Unfortunately, *The Age of the Fathers* appeared too late for much use to be made of it in this connexion.

P. G. M.,
B. J. K.

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MEMOIR

OF

WILLIAM BRIGHT, D.D.,

CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH AND PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY

To receive towards the close of life an invitation, quite unexpected and unsought, to review the course of a friendship of nearly fifty years, undimmed by any difference whatever, except on lesser matters of opinion, with a mind and spirit like that of William Bright is indeed a joy.

The execution of the task has involved an almost complete review of my own manhood life, an operation in itself most profitable, if solemn, especially considering the responsibility of such a friendship with one of whom our common friend, Henry Parry Liddon, was wont to speak as ὁ λαμπρός, 'the bright' or 'shining one,' in playful allusion to his name and corresponding qualities.

William Bright came of a family which, in the middle of the sixteenth century, was settled in the neighbourhood of Sheffield, at Wirlow Hall, and held considerable other estates.[1] His father,

[1] See Hunter's *History of Hallamshire* and the *Life of Sir Charles Bright*, vol. i.

William Bright, solicitor and Town Clerk of Doncaster, was the fifth and youngest son of Paul Bright, of Inkersall, Staveley, by his wife Henrietta Bowker, of Spital in Wakefield. His mother was Mary Ann Branson, of Doncaster. He was their only child, born after his father's death, at Doncaster in 1824, on the 12th of December, and baptized on the 29th, which latter date he always preferred to be remembered as his birthday.

Of his father's brothers, Thomas was a Captain in the Royal Navy; Henry was a Major in the Army, and fell in the Battle of Toulouse in 1814; Brailsford was the father of the great electrician, Sir Charles Bright; and John was an M.D. and Court Physician to King George III.

I did not know him in earlier life. When I began residence at Oxford he had already taken his degree, a First Class *in Litteris Humanioribus*, together with two other Scholars of University College — Thomas Valpy French, afterwards Bishop of Lahore, and John Conington, afterwards Corpus Professor of Latin—both, like him, subsequently elected to Fellowships in their own college. But after a school at Southwell, and some residence with a private tutor, the Rev. Mr. Butterfield, near Bath, he had been sent to Rugby, then under Arnold. Perhaps Rugby was hardly an ideal school for a boy so peculiar as Bright. Yet a subsequent pupil of his and mine at University College writes: 'I remember, as a Rugbeian, being struck with the "piety" and reverence with which he often mentioned Dr.

Arnold, greatly as he must, as a Churchman, have differed from him.' He early showed a remarkable love of study and great intellectual power, but I have no distinct recollection of him until about the year 1851, on some one of his visits to Oxford, from either Trinity College, Glenalmond, where he was for eight years Theological Lecturer, or from his home near Manchester, under the roof of Mr. Daniel Maude, Stipendiary Magistrate of Manchester (afterwards of Greenwich), a most estimable Christian gentleman who had married his widowed mother. He must have been a solitary boy, and I have no doubt these circumstances considerably influenced his life. They doubtless contributed to that shy and recluse character which was so marked in him. They may also have contributed to his great devotion to study and his power of concentrated thought. For his qualities of mind, he, like many distinguished sons, owed much to his mother, to whom he bore a marked resemblance, especially in head and face.

The Ven. Archdeacon Barber of Chester, who was one of his most intimate friends, writes :—

'He must very early have become a careful reader and student of the Bible. I have a Bible, interleaved, in two volumes, with his name on the title-page, "William Bright, Univ. Coll., Nov. 12, 1844," showing that he must thus early have intended to read and carefully annotate it. On November 12, 1864, he gave these volumes to me. They contain, thus, the fruit of twenty years' study. They are the greatest treasures, full of quotations, beautifully written in a neat and legible hand, and are an evidence of the extent of his reading, and of his power of bringing it to bear on his studies.'

Vividly imprinted on my mind is my one visit to him at Glenalmond. So, especially, is my welcoming him, a day or two afterwards, on his descending from an outside seat on the coach at Perth, on St. Matthew's Day, 1853, for the occasion of the enthronization of the newly-elected Bishop, Dr. Charles Wordsworth, in the new Cathedral of St. Ninian's. I shall never forget his appearance in the white tie and swallow-tailed evening black coat, such as may still be seen in contemporaneous pictures of Mr. Keble and Drs. Newman and Pusey.

In 1859 Bright left Glenalmond and returned to Oxford. It is not pleasant, nor, at this date, is it worth while, to recall at length the circumstances of his removal from a post for which he was so pre-eminently fitted. A published Charge of Bishop Forbes Brechin, dealing largely with Eucharistic doctrine, had somewhat alarmed some of the Scottish Bishops. Bishop Trower of Glasgow charged Professor Bright with agreement with it, and with the teaching of Keble's Essay on Eucharistic Adoration, and, indirectly, with unfaithfulness to the teaching of the Anglican Church. He replied that to him Mr. Keble appeared 'to contend for the doctrines of Fathers to whom the English Church in the sixteenth century appealed, and to have thereby trodden in Andrewes' steps.' Bishop Trower's intended resolution that the Rev. W. Bright's appointment 'is rescinded by the Bishops' was not actually brought forward at the Episcopal Synod of May 27, 1858, or was withdrawn. But Bright

was made to leave Glenalmond, to the unspeakable loss of the Scottish Church, as, probably, any survivors of that epoch would now admit.

Of this event Archdeacon Barber, writes to me :—

'He must have exercised considerable self-repression, for he was very reticent about his life at Glenalmond. I do not think I ever heard him allude to the treatment he received, and it was years afterwards when circumstances compelled him to speak of it, as he did with great delicacy, in the pages of the *Guardian*.'

Glenalmond's loss was Oxford's gain. In 1859 Bright came back to University College. I was then Fellow and Tutor, and soon had the joy of welcoming him as a fellow-worker. Of course he took the Divinity Lectures, to the great profit of his pupils, especially of those who were looking forward to Holy Orders. I well know that they all will thankfully acknowledge the greatness of their debt to him. He would never accept a full tutorship, with its general and varied responsibility. He preferred the position of a lecturer, and of course the Greek Testament was his great subject. I have a lively recollection of the successive copies of the large square quarto edition, with a very large margin, which were successively filled, volume after volume, with his copious annotations. Here the depth and width of not only his theological, but of his very varied general reading, showed itself. He was a rapid and omnivorous reader, and always had a pen within reach for notes and references. Next to theology, his favourite subjects were history and

biography, and even fiction. All were laid under contribution, and made to illustrate the highest of all themes. His manuscript notes in the volumes of which I have spoken—now, happily, preserved in Keble College, together with sixty volumes of what he called his 'Sylva' (a set of commonplace-books full of his own written thoughts as well as of valuable extracts and references)—are really an inexhaustible mine, which I trust may not be lost sight of by later workers.

Out of such fulness of knowledge, stored in a strong memory, and not merely in note-books, he spoke, he wrote, both with a clear, lucid incisiveness and accuracy of language, never hampered or overloaded with verbiage, sustaining an unflagging interest in his hearers, who felt that he was indeed a teacher who kept their minds awake, whom they could trust, and from whom they could learn.

One of his former pupils at University College, of that happy time about 1865, afterwards a clergyman and schoolmaster, writes to me now of it as follows :—

'It is not difficult even now to recall Mr. Bright as the College Tutor and Lecturer in the sixties. To the ordinary undergraduate who came under him, perhaps the most striking point was his extraordinary store of knowledge on almost all literary subjects. I well remember consulting him one morning in the quad when I was sorely perplexed by an essay which someone had set me on "Mysticism." He gave me on the spot what most Dons would have considered sufficient help. But before many hours had passed—and I know that he had lectures in the interval—I received from him what would have been an excellent article on the subject, exhaustive, and backed

up by very many references. His lectures were admirable. I well remember what life he threw into the Ethics; how "up to date" he made them seem, although I fancy that he did not give us exactly what "paid" in the Schools. It was a delight to read Virgil with him. To those who had been accustomed merely to verbal criticism it was a revelation to find the *Æneid* full of character. Æneas, for instance, he could never forgive, not only for his conduct to Dido, but for his constant timidity. "Stupid fellow! of course up goes his hair on end again!" and so forth. It is needless to say what his Divinity Lectures were. His notes are still among my treasured possessions, and I am sure that a class which was kept on with him, contrary to custom, for a fourth term, though they grumbled openly, were in their hearts very glad to be still with him. He would put forth illustrations and comments of the most interesting kind, and at the end of some subject, as if himself to enjoy the pleasure of listening, would half reach, half project, some favourite author across the table with a "Read it, M——," which few who were present will forget. His reading, of course, lay far outside the ordinary academical subjects. Walter Scott he constantly quoted, and thoroughly enjoyed his dry humour. . . . He was full of fun. Many are living who could quote lines from the "Oxoniad"—a fragment with which he had beguiled the monotony of "Collections." . . . I remember a former fellow speaking of him once as a "happy monk." I do not know how far this was a true description, but if many monks were like him, a monastery must have been a pleasant place to live in.'

In speaking he had, for a long time, a hesitation in utterance which had disqualified him from reading the lessons in college chapel in his turn as Scholar, and which was even somewhat painfully felt when he read family prayers at his mother's house. But this was due only to a kind of shyness or nervousness, not to any organic defect. The practice of the college lecture-room enabled him to overcome it, until, in Oxford

churches and elsewhere, and in Convocation, he could preach and speak as many will remember.

For him, and for me, those were happy days. As Dean and Senior Tutor I had to move to a kind of official residence in college, which happened to be immediately underneath the rooms he occupied. I felt this to be a very happy arrangement, as I did again at a later period also, when, in compensation, as it were, for the loss of Bright, his old rooms were inhabited by another dear old friend and brother-Fellow, Allan Becher Webb—afterwards Bishop of Bloemfontein, and later of Grahamstown, now Dean of Salisbury. It was on that staircase that I remember hearing the step of Dr. Plumptre's butler ascending to Bright's rooms, followed instantly by the rapid descent of the latter to hand on to me the note which announced the vacancy, and conveyed the offer, of a college living.

There were greater things in store for Bright than the functions of a *vox clamantis in deserto*. His gifts were professorial and academic, not pastoral. I felt we soon must lose him, or we ought to do, from University College.

His first published work on the great subject he afterwards so fully represented was a too small one-volume *History of the Church* of the century and a half following the Council of Nicæa. It was a work much wanted. There had been *grand choix* of *Histories of the Church of the First Three Centuries*, but the post-Nicene period and the later Councils had been very imperfectly dealt with. This work had all Bright's accuracy, all

his conciseness and condensation, and his picturesqueness, too; but I remember saying to him that if he had done it in three volumes instead of one he would have been a Professor of Ecclesiastical History long before he was.

Of course, many things stand out in the retracing of those years, more than I have space to dwell on now, tempted as one is to become reminiscent; but I should wrong the memory of those who are gone if I failed to express my thankfulness for the common friendship of my friend and myself with Pusey, Liddon, Kay, Bulley, Leighton of All Souls', the late Lord Beauchamp (then 'Lygon of All Souls'); with Bishop Stubbs, Sargent of Merton, Walton and Noel Freeling, both also of Merton, as well as with others like-minded who, happily, still are with us. Yet Bright never surrendered his judgment to even the best and dearest or ablest of his friends. I well remember how we fretted together over the rigorous pressure which 'the Doctor,' or, as Bishop Forbes of Brechin used to call him, 'il Santo' (Dr. Pusey), exercised on our beloved and very precious friend, Canon Liddon, when the canonry at St. Paul's made it really desirable for him to leave Oxford for London, and devote himself exclusively to what was surely enough for the whole energies of any man. But Pusey's judgment was, in those days, that everyone who had the Faith in him, being an Oxford resident, was bound by his loyalty to Christ to stay there to uphold it. Liddon was at that time Professor of the Exegesis of Holy Scripture, and no doubt was doing inestimable work.

That work, again, was enough for one man. We blamed him for putting himself entirely into Pusey's hands. But he did. So, as soon as his neck was out of the collar at Oxford, he had to go to Amen Court, and there put it into another, his three months of London residence being distributed by arrangement so as to permit of his keeping the terms at Oxford. He had thus barely a free month in the whole year for rest. It was bad policy. The result was premature exhaustion, and in the long-run the Church was the loser. It was what Bright dreaded.

Perhaps Bright was too exclusively a student. It is given to no man to be equally developed on every side. There was a certain physical nervousness about him. One form in which this manifested itself was the early hesitation in speaking to which I have alluded. There was not quite enough love of the open air in him. He was always, first and foremost, a student. I never knew him take part in a game. I never saw him on horseback except once in Switzerland, or with the driving-reins, or a gun, or an oar, or a cricket-bat, or a fishing-rod, in his hands. He was no athlete. He lived before athletics were invented. Yet he was a good walker, and, being not insensible to the beauties of Nature, would take some trouble to go and see them, as he would, even more, scenes, places, buildings, and objects which were historically famous. He enjoyed Switzerland, but he was not an enthusiastic mountaineer. The physical triumph over obstacles and difficulties, and sometimes danger, the joy of the vitalizing air, of

the glorious sunshine, of a cloudless sky over glacier and snowfield, he would not fail to acknowledge; but they were not to him what they were to others, an almost intoxicating delight. The human, the historic interest of Nature was to him the greater of the two. The subjects of physical science, the marvel of the material universe, and the problems of pure philosophical reasoning, especially in the mathematical direction, did not interest him. The problems and paradoxes of human life and feeling did; the drama of history, the closer reproduction of personal life in biography, even the fictitious inventions and imaginations of a good human or historical novel, had for him an unfailing charm and fascination.

The vital reality, which he so clearly saw and felt, of the application to human life and destiny of the highest and deepest moral, spiritual, and dogmatic truths, lay at the bottom of his intense devotion to the study of theology and of ecclesiastical questions. For him faith and life were inseparably intertwined. For him the truth and completeness or otherwise of faith were of inestimable importance. For him the life and the future of souls, their permanent worth and character and dignity, and so the life of the Church of God, and of human society, which are built up of souls, all grew out of, and depended upon, faith. As their Faith was, so, in the long-run, must they be, for good or evil.

The sense of this gave him that deep and affectionate interest in the highest welfare of others which all who were privileged to know

him personally felt to be so deeply characteristic of him, and which gave such intensely practical value and helpfulness to his theological and other writings, lectures, sermons, and conversations. To this the carefully treasured recollections of his numerous friends and pupils bear abundant testimony. And this would have made him an admirable parish priest had God's providence called him to the pastoral sphere, as it stood him in good stead afterwards in his office as a Bishop's examining chaplain. We feel very strongly that the Letters we are privileged to publish, and which, we are persuaded, are but a sample of many more, equally valuable, which have not yet reached us, will commend themselves, as not merely interesting, but practically useful, to a large circle of readers beyond the clergyman and the student. Warm-hearted Church people of both sexes will find in them just what they want in the way of practical guidance in many matters of the Christian life. Their simple letter form, their being in so many cases written in reply to questions asked, will greatly help towards that useful purpose.

Speaking of literary activity at this period, his first published work was *Ancient Collects*, 1857. By this he laid the Anglican Communion under a great debt, as he did later on by his *Hymns*—published, in 1866, *with other Poems*. The compressed terseness and clear-cut sharpness of the old Latin Collects, from St. Leo onwards, suited his taste exactly. His renderings preserve these characteristics perhaps a little too closely for

general English use. One feels in some of them a lack of ease and smoothness. This is an almost unavoidable defect in the work of one who was not a musician, nor had himself any practice in musical recitation. This defect is less observable in his metrical writings. Of the nine hymns of his enshrined in the current 'Complete Edition' of *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, there are some which, amid whatever changes, will be cherished as long as Christian worship goes up to heaven in English speech.

Akin to these helps to devotion were his later publications, *Faith and Life*, a volume of readings from ancient writers for the first half of the Church's year, from Advent to Trinity, published in 1864; his *Private Prayers for a Week*, 1882; and his *Family Prayers for a Week*, 1885.

It will easily be imagined what a strength the countenance and support and the advice of a man like Bright were to other Oxford residents deeply interested and, more or less, actively engaged in Christian work within and beyond Oxford. Two instances of which I can speak from personal knowledge stand out strongly in the retrospect—the interest he took in what for some years was known as the 'Merton Service,' and the help he lent to the origination, in 1862, of the Church Congress on the public and open footing on which it has been continued ever since.

The opening service of the great Church Congress, held during three days in the Sheldonian Theatre under the presidency of the greatest of modern English Bishops, Samuel Wilberforce, took

place in Merton Chapel on Tuesday, July 8, 1862, at eight o'clock. The Bishop celebrated, assisted by the Rev. H. W. Sargent and myself. It was an occasion which is, for many reasons, deeply imprinted on my memory.

Of Canon Bright's warm and sympathetic interest in the great work of the Rev. H. W. Sargent, Fellow of Merton, and Vicar of what was then the separate parish of St. John Baptist, I shall ever cherish the most grateful recollection. From the founder's days the college chapel had served as the parish church of this small ancient parish. It was about the year 1854 that some advances were made on the old customary form of service, which was of the plainest type. From the small beginning of six little surpliced chorister boys and a harmonium Mr. Sargent, who had a beautiful voice and the finest possible musical taste, raised the service and all its accessories to a very high pitch of choral perfection, yet throughout of the strictly parochial type. We grew to a full choir of men and boys, supported by a fine organ, which occupied, perhaps, too large a space in the north transept, and had successively for its players the Rev. Dr. Hayne and Sir John Stainer. Having no Sunday duty out of college, I gave what assistance I could in this work, in conjunction with another personal friend of Canon Bright's, the Rev. Sackett Hope. It was a work which, as subsequent testimony has abundantly showed, was very effective as an instance of a bright and attractive musical service in a parish church at a time when such services hardly

existed. It is hardly necessary to say that such a step onward, nearly fifty years ago, met with much prejudiced and irrational opposition from some quarters. Under such circumstances the sympathy and help of men like Bright and Liddon as frequent attendants and occasional preachers were of real value. Dr. Bright dedicated the first edition of his *Hymns and other Poems* to 'the Clergy of St. John Baptist's, Oxford, in grateful remembrance of the privileges of years.'

Among other works which I gratefully recall was our *Latin Edition of the Book of Common Prayer*. Agreeing in the general principle of giving the Vulgate for the Scriptural portions, and of reverting as far as possible to the Latin originals of the collects and prayers, we planned and carried out this work together. The first edition was published by Rivingtons in 1865. It was a joint labour of love, in the process of which we were privileged to consult friends like Canons Liddon and Bramley, both then resident in Oxford, and others who, like ourselves, had given much time to the study of the ancient liturgical treasures of the Church.

In later life Canon Bright, as we shall see, devoted a very large part of his vacations to foreign travel, often very distant. It was my privilege (and now a cherished recollection) to accompany him, with some other Oxford friends, on his first visit to the Continent. It was in the September of 1863. Accompanied by another University College man, Claude Delaval Cobham, we travelled by Amiens to Paris. Speaking of

our visit to the Cathedral of Amiens, when, I think, he saw Mass for the first time, Dr. Bright writes: 'I was not so much impressed by the Mass as a ceremony as I expected to be. It is so rapidly done and so overloaded with minute observances.' In Paris he was much interested, especially with the historic sites. He writes: 'It is a wonderful sensation to be on the very ground of the French Revolution.' Some days later he writes from Visp, 'Oh, the excessive annoyance which the mind endures from seeing a low Mass performed so rapidly, so mechanically, so inaudibly!' In Paris we were joined by the Rev. E. W. Urquhart of Balliol and his brother and sister. We went by Reims, Strasburg, and Basle to Zurich. Of our journey thence to Lucerne one interesting incident remains permanently fixed in my memory. We had to cover the distance between the lakes of Zurich and Zug in a small diligence. To a very pleasant French layman Bright and Cobham and I added ourselves, and were presently joined by two Capuchin monks in the habit of their order. This made up our full inside complement of six. Foreseeing an imprisonment of nearly three hours, we began a conversation (I think) in French. In this our Capuchin fellow-travellers proved not more ready than we in German. Consequently, though I do not remember who began it, we got into Latin. Then we got on very well, though one of the monks, who seemed little more than a foil to the other, contributed nothing beyond occasional ejaculations. It was very interesting, and not a

little amusing. Bright writes of this discussion: 'One of the monks kept saying "Consule Historiam," and I kept answering, with a smile, "Ipse consului."' The future Professor of Ecclesiastical History, of course, held his own admirably. We dwelt in the course of our conversation rather on points of agreement than of difference, each side explaining their own position, when the French layman, who throughout had been merely listening, suddenly broke in with, 'Sumus fratres, sumus fratres!'

The mountainous parts of our very pleasant tour did not, I think, interest Bright so much as one had hoped. He preferred to view them from below. Yet he writes to his friend, the Rev. Edward Barber: 'The grandeur of the mountains is simply indescribable. The voyage on the lake was like a dream of beauty.' We did not even get him up the Righi, to whose summit there was no railway in those days, nor over the St. Gothard, which we reached, after diligence from Altdorf to Amsteg, and on foot from thence to Hospenthal. It was a glorious day, but the walk was too much for Bright, as was also the ride, a few days later, from Visp up the St. Niklaus Valley to Zermatt. Of this he writes: 'Medd and the others were very eager to see Zermatt and the Matterhorn. I was not of their mind.' His motto might have been *I, demens, curre per Alpes.* So after lunch he turned and rode down again, 'leaving them in all the mania of glacier-walking, etc. *Non equidem invideo, miror magis.*' So the rest of us 'did' the Riffel, the Görner Grat, and the Cima de Jazzi.

We met again some days later, and returned to England by Paris, Chartres, and Rouen.

Speaking of Berne, he writes, September 25, 1863:—

'The cathedral is in the hands of the Calvinists. I attended their afternoon service on Sunday, not being able to find the "English Church." It is just Presbyterian; the preacher wore the skull-cap and the huge white collar which one sees in the old pictures of the Puritan ministers. He gave out a hymn, which was sung sitting; then a prayer was read from a formulary, which the people listened to standing up—not, as far as I saw, with much devotion of manner; then he preached in German, and seemed very earnest; then prayed *extempore*, then *read* another prayer—by-the-by, he said the Lord's Prayer twice—then a final hymn. In the hotel I met a very interesting Dissenting lawyer (English), who talked of the Rationalist School, the intimate connection of doctrine and morals, the hopelessness of attempting to keep clear of unbelief from merely intellectual grounds apart from Divine grace.'

Of experiences in Parisian churches he writes:—

'I saw a Marriage Mass and a Funeral Mass go on in the same church at the same time. At a certain point in the former a white silk veil was held over the happy pair while the priest gave them a blessing. I have also seen a child baptized. The priest did his part so mechanically and hurriedly that I was quite disgusted at him. All the beautiful symbolism of the service was marred. I felt that we do *that* better in England. Communion is not at all a rare sight, even on week-day mornings. Once I saw two choir boys who attended on the Mass come forward with a white cloth, which they held in front of the communicant; then the celebrant turned round with the Sacrament—I mean the Host, unhappily not the Cup—and said, *Ecce Agnus Dei*, and placed it in the communicant's mouth, saying: *Corpus Domini custodiat animam tuam.* The communicants always receive kneeling, but upright—*not* prostrating themselves, for that would so much tend to impede the administration, as it does when practised in England.'

Of the Cathedral of Chartres he writes as 'certainly most magnificent,' but adds :—

'What disappoints one in these grand French churches is their comparative shortness when compared with York or Winchester [he might have added St. Albans]. What makes up for this is their loftiness and the splendour of their porches.'

I remember being present with him at Vespers in the Cathedral of Chartres, where we were much shocked by the interruption of the *Magnificat* by a very superfluous visit of two old Canons from their stalls in the choir to burn incense in front of a black image of the Blessed Virgin in the north transept. We often talked of this afterwards. There was one grain of comfort in it. It seemed so manifest an excrescence that one could not help hoping and believing that it, and other things like it, must drop off some day. The chief incident of our stay at Rouen was a visit to the deeply interesting Church of St. Gervais, on the top of a hill within a mile of Rouen, on the spot where William the Conqueror died. Here we descended by a stone staircase near the western end of the chancel to the primitive subterranean church, by some archæologists dated before A.D. 250, and noticed right and left, at the foot of the steps, the recessed *arcosolia* which once contained the tombs of St. Avitien and St. Mello, the earliest preachers of Christianity in that part of Gaul. It has an apse, now lighted by a small narrow window, apparently not original. Round the semicircle of the apse portions of the stone bench were still visible, as were also the strong iron hooks, high

up in the sides of the arch, from which a curtain might be suspended. I suppose there is hardly any other so ancient place of Christian worship north of the Alps.

In the autumn of 1865 Bright visited Cambridge for the first time. Writing of his 'impressions while they were fresh in his mind,' he says :—

'I certainly bring away a greater admiration for the place, or, rather, for some features of it, than I had expected to do. Of King's Chapel, of course, one had always heard as the great ornament of Cambridge, but I had never realised its vastness and dignity, or, rather, majesty. I don't say that I should not get weary of the monotonous repetition of crowns and Tudor roses in the ornamentation ; nor that the stall-work is worthy of the place, for, in fact, it is heavy and gloomy. But on the whole it is glorious. Then, the great Court of Trinity is certainly very much more impressive than Tom Quad ; and, thirdly, we have nothing of the same kind of beauty as one sees in what they call "The Backs"—that is, the backs of St. John's, Trinity, Clare, King's, Queens', looking out on what they are pleased to call their river, and in the beautiful walks on the other side. What is diffused, with us, in different college gardens seems to be more combined there. Also I found more to admire in the venerableness of some of the colleges, particularly Queens', than I had looked for. . . . At Ely I was greatly delighted with the magnificent cathedral.'

From a few lines to Archdeacon Barber, written on Shrove Tuesday, February 13, 1866, we see that Bright's efforts to help the young theological students of Oxford were not confined to his regular work in his own college :—

'I am going to give some lectures on Tuesday evenings during Lent to some undergraduates and B.A.'s on the doctrine of our Lord's Person, as witnessed to by the Four Councils. Some nine or ten men came to settle about it

to-day, and more will come. I shall gain some pleasant acquaintances, and I would fain hope I may be of some use.'

Another very characteristic letter to the same intimate friend, dated 'Feast of the Circumcision, 1867,' gives some pleasant glimpses of our happy life at Oxford in the sixties. He says :—

'I came here [East Retford] yesterday evening, after a very happy Christmas at Oxford. I did not go to the Magdalen Christmas Eve party, because I had to be up early for the first Celebration at SS. Philip and James. Also I confess to a growing feeling that the scene at Magdalen is, as Lord Beauchamp always said, somewhat too festive for the vigil. The service at Merton in the morning was very grand. . . . Our carol party in the hall at University on St. Stephen's night was a great success, and just as it was beginning I heard from Mansel himself of his appointment to the E. H. Chair. I do not think one can help recognising the fact that special studies in that direction are not regarded as necessary for a Professor by our honoured Lord and Chancellor in his quality as patron of Regius Professorships. Nor can I think that the character of Mansel's mind is historical, nor that he will be able to take to Ecclesiastical History as a congenial subject. At the same time, when one considers what names were talked of as really not out of the question, I think we may be thankful for Mansel's appointment. He is a *very* able man, a good Churchman, and a Conservative. If he is not quite in his right place as a Professor of Ecclesiastical History, to have him in one of the great chairs, and in a Christ Church Canonry, is no small gain to the cause of truth. Liddon and others think that I should have been appointed, but that I was too well known as a *pronounced* High Churchman. If that is so, I consider it a great honour, and, personally speaking, I do not think the canonry would have contributed to my happiness. Let it suffice to say this on the matter.

'But I have passed away from what I was talking of—the joyous scene in our hall on Wednesday evening. The carols were chiefly those in Neale's collection, together with "A Virgin most pure" (which has a most sweet chorus), "The

First Nowell," and one or two others. The whole was concluded with "For unto us a Child is born." On St. John's Day—most visibly a day of "bright beams"—I celebrated at Merton. On Innocents' night we had a delightful choir party (Merton) in the practice-room—so much associated in our memories with the B.H.T. [the Brotherhood of the Holy Trinity]—blind-man's buff, snap-dragon, a Christmas-tree, then three carols (how they did sing "Good King Wenceslas"!). And then Sargent, who was well enough to be there, said a few quiet, sweet words as to his pleasure at "seeing their merry faces," and his hope that they remembered why we rejoice at Christmas, etc. They cheered me very cordially. I hardly knew what I had done to deserve it; but to be with them and really play with them goes a long way with kindly and honest lads.'

Passing now to the second and longer half of Dr. Bright's life at Oxford, the change from University College to Christ Church took place in 1868. The recent occupants of the Chair of Ecclesiastical History had been Dr. Hussey, Dr. Stanley—like Bright, once a Fellow and Tutor of University College—and Dr. Shirley, who died in November, 1866. For allusions to his possible successor, and to efforts made in favour of Dr. Liddon, of Mr. Bright himself, and of Mr. Bradley—also a former Fellow of University, and at that time Headmaster of Marlborough, afterwards Master of University, and later on Dean of Westminster—see the following *Letters*, pp. 265, 267. Lord Derby was then Prime Minister, and, as Bright (p. 268) had anticipated, he appointed Mansel, of St. John's. His tenure of the professorship was short. He was soon promoted to the Deanery of St. Paul's, and in 1868 Mr. Bright was appointed by the then Prime Minister, Lord

Beaconsfield. He alludes in a letter (p. 338) to the congratulations he received, expressing at the same time his sense of the difficulties of the work which now lay before him. He was installed in his canonry at Christ Church on December 23, 1868. He held it for thirty-three years.

They were years of steady, hard, and fruitful work, both in the stated duties of the professorship, which included preaching in the cathedral, and in the outside functions of representative of the Cathedral Chapter in Convocation, and of Examining Chaplain to the Bishop (King) of Lincoln. His lectures were attended by large classes of deeply interested pupils. A list of visible results in published writings is given at the close of this memoir. They will never cease to be valued in the English Church, with whose true spirit they are thoroughly imbued.

Of one most deeply interesting incident in the early part of my last years of residence in Oxford I have a very vivid recollection. This was the visit of Lycurgus, Archbishop of Syros and Tenos, who, on February 19, 1870, had the degree of D.D. conferred upon him by the University of Oxford. Advantage was taken of his presence in the University to hold, in Dr. Pusey's study, a conference on some of the points at issue between ourselves and the Eastern Church. The discussion was carried on in Greek. At first the Archbishop's pronunciation was difficult to follow, but the ear soon became accustomed to it. My friend, now become Professor Bright, D.D. and Canon of Christ Church, writes as follows of the results :—

'It appeared that he [the Archbishop] could not admit διὰ τοῦ Υἱοῦ ["through the Son"] as referring to any eternal relations, and that in his opinion reunion was impossible without the erasure of the *Filioque* from the Western Creed. He was quite clear, consistent, and decisive. He said that Pope Leo's silver shields could still be seen. He put aside the Council of Florence, which Dr. Pusey cited. The Eucharist, he said, was a θαῦμα (wonder) as great as the ἐνσάρκωσις (Incarnation). As manhood is joined to Godhead, so bread and wine are joined to the Body and Blood. "Did his Church hold that bread and wine lost their natural existence?" He answered, "It is an open question. Personally, I think they do not, otherwise there would be something analogous to monophysitism." Invocation of saints was not held to be ἀναγκαῖον (necessary or compulsory), but merely a belief (here he spread out his hands) that there was no gap between the Church below and the Church above, etc.' (*MS. Reminiscences*, p. 82).

Writing, two days later, of an entertainment given by the President, Dr. Bulley, in the State Rooms at Magdalen, to the Archbishop and his attendant clergy, he records that the Archbishop said he should

'tell the Patriarch of Constantinople that the English Church was not a Protestant sect, but a continuation of the original Apostolic Church. He hoped that a better understanding between it and the Eastern Church would further the reunion of Christendom. Archimandrite Stratoulis, of St. Nicolas' Church, Liverpool, spoke in English, saying that his Church's flag bore freedom, but freedom must go hand-in-hand with obedience to revelation. Civilisation, truly so called, had its source in Christ, God and man. The Archbishop spoke warmly of George Williams, who was present, as an old friend of the Eastern Church. He told stories, as of an infidel Professor at Athens whom he had tried to impress on his death-bed. The man answered: "No, I have lived without Christ, and I will die without Christ." He sent a message to Dr. Pusey to suggest that English divines might consider

some propositions which might be sent to them from the East. He wants to get a *critical* edition of the Liturgies' (*ibid.*, pp. 84, 85).

I was not privileged to see, on the spot, more than the first two years of Bright's work as professor. At the close of 1870 I left Oxford, after twenty-two years' continuous residence, for the Rectory of Barnes. Thenceforward I did not see so much of my friend, who spent a large part of his vacations in often distant and foreign travel with his friend Mr. W. H. Seary of Oxford, to whom he has left a very interesting diary of these 'expeditions.' The occasions on which I met him were the sessions of Convocation and the terminal meetings of the Council of Keble College, of which we both were original members, and for which I often stayed with him at his canonical residence.

But by the kindness of personal friends of his who were resident in the University during the fruitful years of his professorial activity, and so were able to record their strong and fresh impressions of the work of the later years of his life, I am happily allowed to make use of what they wrote on the occasion of his death. For this permission I tender my warmest thanks—as my readers also will—to Canons Driver, Sanday, Scott Holland, and Randolph.

The last-named writes, in *Goodwill* of May, 1901 :—

'As one looks back at the Oxford of those days, the privileges one recalls with most vividness and with profound

gratitude are walks with Liddon, talks and Friday evening "Bethels" with King, and lectures from Bright.

'Bright's lectures! What a delight and refreshment they were! Who that has once heard them can ever forget the impression they left upon the mind and heart? How he made every character in the history live and move before you! how every detail was brought out with a vividness and a colouring that were altogether inimitable!

'The great attraction which the early period of Church history had for Bright was, no doubt, due very largely to its intimate connection with the doctrine of the Incarnation, and it was, perhaps, in his treatment of the great heresies that he excelled. He took infinite pains to go to the root of the matter and to make his hearers understand the question at issue. For example, in regard to the Nestorian controversy: "If you are tempted," he would say, "to think that this is an unimportant matter (and here he would speak with the utmost gravity), ask yourself . . . ask yourself . . . what would have happened *if the heresy had prevailed!* If the child on Mary's breast was not God, if Mary is indeed not Theotokos (Mother of God), reflect what it means. How could a man such as Nestorius believed Christ to be, a man closely associated with the Logos, the highest of the saints, yet not differing in kind from the saints, and therefore, after all, *only a man*—how could such an one be our REDEEMER?"

'Or, if it was a question of Roman controversy, Bright would "scent the battle from afar." You would, as you watched him, see that something specially piquant was "in the air." He would smile, and first of all state the view of some Roman controversialist. "Egregius locus," says Baronius, as he comments on the text. "A first-class passage! But . . . let us examine the context. *What are the facts?*"

'His intense sense of humour never forsook him. In describing the scenes in the life of Athanasius, already referred to, he would give it full play. St. Basil was, "it must be confessed, a bit of a don." Eutyches was "a foolish old man with a narrow mind, stiffened by seclusion and bewildered by harassing excitement." Pelagius was, according to St. Jerome, "that big dog of Albion, overloaded with Scotch oatmeal." Who that heard him narrate it can ever forget the account of the rescue of Dionysius of Alexandria, when that prelate was

dragged across the floor of the room in which he had been sleeping clad only in a nightshirt . . . "a most undignified position for a patriarch." Humour, as everybody knows, is closely akin to pathos, and wonderful was the impression left upon the mind after hearing the infinitely tender and touching way in which Bright would tell the story of the martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas in the Severian persecution; and how he would dwell on the beautiful collocation of the two names, and then with what an exquisite sense of humour he would describe how Saturus (one of the other martyrs of that time) prayed that, however he might meet his death, he might not be *hugged by a bear!*

'So year after year his lectures went on. As lately as October 23, 1899, he wrote to me as follows: "I am in very fair form. I commenced the term's lectures—which will complete the thirty-first year of my work—with as much zest as ever." And he adds the following postscript, so entirely characteristic of himself: "A Greek deacon of Constantinople, staying in Oxford, comes to the class. I shall have to talk in his hearing of the episcopate of St. Chrysostom."

'Passing from his lectures, one may try to recall something of the charm of his conversation. He had an extraordinary power of rejuvenescence, and hence he would often be the central attraction to a group of young men in his own house or elsewhere. Only a few years ago one of the Censors of Christ Church said that, if he wanted to make sure of a party of undergraduates going off well, he always did his best to get Bright, for there was nobody like him to insure the success of the gathering. He had, in fact, an unfailing and ever-ready sympathy with young men, occasionally lapsing purposely, and even in his lectures, into the current slang of the day, with a delightful naïveté and freshness.

'Anybody who knew Bright knew his great mastiff Cecilia, "my pearl," with whom the Professor would play and frolic like a boy. A touching sight might from time to time be seen in Oxford, which illustrates Bright's love for animals, and his special consideration for Cecilia in particular, when he would linger in his walks, leaning against a railing or watching by the roadside while the mastiff was disposing of a dainty morsel which she had discovered to her own satisfaction, and not without Bright's sympathetic interest.

'This may bring us to the consideration of Bright's preaching. How can one describe it? One can recollect him years ago in a well-known church in Oxford, how he would begin by leaning over the pulpit and hanging out both his hands straight down before him, like a dog's fore-paws hang out of a kennel. Then he would (in this attitude) look slowly round and round at the congregation, and, after a pause, give out his text *very rapidly*, all the words being rolled together so as to form an almost unintelligible sound, like a bark, and the hearer found himself wondering what he had said! Then Bright would slowly draw himself up, and repeat the text more deliberately and carefully, and, once having begun, the attention of his audience was secured and retained throughout. You could not help looking at him. His gestures! Who could describe them, as he drew back into the recesses of the pulpit and crossed his stole over his breast, or as he passed the sleeve of his surplice across his face, or as he twisted that singularly expressive and mobile countenance into that which was only just not a grimace! Grotesque, was it? Yes, if you will. Irreverent in anyone else? Yes, if you will; but never in Bright, for how penetrated he was through and through with reality and intense feeling! Every word he uttered came from his very soul. It was the man and his message rolled into one intensely real whole. Philips Brooks, the great American preacher, says somewhere that preaching is "truth conveyed through a personality," and here was Bright's great personality coming out, permeating every sentence, till you felt thrilled and awed by the utter self-forgetting earnestness of the soul that uttered the words.

'When in church among the congregation, in the prayers he was absorbed in devotion; in the Psalms and hymns it was the same—sometimes clasping his hands, sometimes putting his finger through his hair with a rapid and characteristic movement, sometimes grasping his sides, sometimes throwing back his head in a strange and almost grotesque attitude. But with all this, it was impossible for him to be irreverent. He was himself penetrated through and through with the significance of what was passing, lost to every trace of self-consciousness! It was Bright in church, and that meant a soul of no ordinary greatness in intense and fervently realised communion with God.

'There is one further aspect of Dr. Bright's work of which I may be permitted to say a few words. As Examining Chaplain to the Bishop of Lincoln, that which often struck us very forcibly was the readiness with which he would sometimes give a candidate credit for much greater knowledge than he probably possessed, if only he could find something to go upon in his papers. An accurate phrase here and there meant so much to Bright that he at once seemed to take it for granted that the candidate knew all that it implied to him. Consequently, he was always a "merciful" examiner whenever he could find any appreciation of the subject in hand. But, on the other hand, if a man made a really bad mistake on a point of doctrine! . . .

'How inadequate these lines are as a description of the great personality who has passed away none knows better than the writer. Bright's death left a gap which, so far as he and very many others are concerned, can never be filled up. His beauty of character, his passionate loyalty to our Lord, his simplicity and childlike sincerity, his almost eccentric yet most gracious presence, his ever-ready and instinctive sympathy—all this, linked with a consummate power of accurate thought and of precise expression, were, as it seemed to me, altogether unique, and one mourns over him as over a gracious master and leader, to whom one owes more than it is possible to convey to others.'

Dr. Sanday, in the *Journal of Theological Studies* (April, 1901, vol. ii., p. 393), writes as follows :—

'Dr. William Bright . . . was probably less well known, even in the world of scholars, than his conspicuous gifts and merits deserved. They deserved a reputation that should not be less than European, or, rather, Ecumenical. In the circles in which he was known he was deeply beloved and revered; but it may be doubted whether these circles extended far beyond the clergy of the Anglican communion. The laity, it is probable, knew him chiefly through his influence on the clergy.

'With these he was brought in several ways into close and impressive contact. His lectures were attended by candidates for Holy Orders. . . . The best of them richly felt and

appreciated his power. With some he remained an intimate and delightful friend for life. Others of the clergy he met at the courses of lectures for the working clergy given from time to time in the summer. And here, too, he found enthusiastic listeners. In Convocation he held a unique position, as at once a brilliant speaker, an exact thinker, and probably the most learned man in the whole assembly—at least, in the lower House. In this capacity I have reason to know how highly he was valued, because here, as elsewhere, admiration for his gifts went along—as it could not but go along—with personal affection for the man.

'When we look outside in the wider world, Dr. Bright was known in the Episcopal Churches of America, and still more nearly and dearly in the Episcopal Church of Scotland. . . . Besides this, his fame had doubtless spread to the cultured Roman Catholic scholars of France, who have a certain leaning towards the best of our Anglican workers in the same field. I do not think that he read much German, and, partly as a consequence of this, I do not think that he was much known in Germany, expect, perhaps, through a few striking articles in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography* (Athanasius, Cyril of Alexandria, Dioscorus, and Theophilus of Alexandria) and through his *Early English Church History*.

'Dr. Bright was a born historian, but a historian rather, perhaps, in the older sense of narrative and descriptive history than in the full modern style. He had very nearly all the gifts of a great historian, with just that limitation.

'To begin with, he had complete command of his materials. The patristic texts were at his fingers' ends. He had a retentive and comprehensive memory, which summoned up the illustrations that he needed at his bidding. He did not need to trust to the references of others, but poured them out in profusion from his own reading, as his copious annotations show.

'He was a thoroughly good scholar, trained at Rugby under Arnold and Tait, and he handled all the mass of materials of which we have been speaking with a scholar's sureness. Of course, I do not mean that differences of interpretation are not possible: but at least these differences will not, as they sometimes do with eminent historians, turn upon imperfect knowledge of Greek.

'Then he had, in very conspicuous degree, the historical imagination. And it was imagination that never flagged. He saw the scene vividly before his own mind, and presented it as vividly to his hearers or readers. He did not deal much in abstractions, but the men of whom he speaks are essentially creatures of flesh and blood.

'For this is a further point, that he had an intense human interest, not without the salt of humour. He entered to the full into all the human aspects of his narrative. It was no dead chronicle, but a living drama. And the interest was not only intensely human, but intensely religious. He saw not only the humour and the pathos, but still more the grandeur and sublimity, more especially in the whole-hearted champions of the faith. He entered alike into their deepest struggles and into their loftiest aspirations. He knew by heart numbers of their prayers, and has left behind more than one collection of prayers for private use based upon the ancient collects.

'He was not only a historian, but primarily a Church historian, and not only a Church historian, but a great theologian. I have said that he knew the Fathers through and through, and he knew them not only from the point of view of history, but from that of doctrine. He was entirely at home in all the dogmatic controversies of the early centuries. He could handle these also with absolute precision. There was no greater authority in this country—I doubt if there were many greater authorities in any country—as to the authentic content of Catholic teaching. On such points Dr. Bright was always ready to take up his pen. He was a controversialist of a kind that is good for a Church, because he did not spend his strength in vague beating of the air, but he had definite standards before his mind, and it was a mind that could appreciate fine distinctions.

'It will be seen how the presence of some of these qualities served as a corrective against the dangers that might possibly have been incidental to others. For instance, the strength of the human interest, and still more the strength of the religious interest, saved the theologian from falling a victim to the hardness of dogma. To my thinking, the little volume of *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers* (1890) is a perfect model of its kind. The Fathers in question are St. Athanasius, St. Chrysostom, and St. Augustine, and occasion is

taken to state clearly the principles for which these Fathers contended, and to bring out the erroneous tendencies which they opposed. The main part of the book consists of three Advent addresses delivered in Christ Church Cathedral, so that it was necessarily pitched in a key that brought home its subject to the minds and hearts of plain Christian people. And at the same time it was enriched by a series of appendices that could only have been written by an accomplished theologian. I am not sure that this is not really an ideal combination. The professed dogmatician can hardly escape being hard, formal, and technical, and these qualities are just what repel so many minds. But Dr. Bright's modest volume combines the precision of profound knowledge with the equally profound note of simple piety. Only a great man could have written such a book.

'In another sense, the other little volume, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, is an example of the same thing. This also is made up only of summer lectures, but they are such lectures as no one but Dr. Bright could give. The "aspects" all stand out as vividly as if they were painted on canvas. I should like to quote freely from, but I will content myself by referring the reader to, more especially, the fourth address, on the relations of the early Christians to the heathen, and on the persecutions. I might quote this address as a good example of the characteristics of Dr. Bright's style.

'He was an excellent writer of English. His style had a wide range, and was capable of very varied tones. It was remarkable for its flexibility. Like Newman, though, perhaps, not quite with that supreme delicacy of finish, he could use simple idiomatic, and even colloquial, expressions with great effect. But his style rose naturally with his subject. He was a true poet, and, when the occasion required it, the right word, the imaginative word, with just the fitting dash of colour or of passion, seemed to be always forthcoming. And there was never anything really strained: the colour or the passion was never overdone. It was true eloquence, and not rhetoric. What it left behind was not the sense of effort, but of mastery.

'One of the reasons for this excellence was that his memory was stored with recollections of the English classics. His favourite reading was Scott, Miss Austen, and Dickens. Much of their writings he knew almost by heart. And for the forming

of a style there is no school like that of conversation and the study of writers who are good in conversation. It is just this that gives the kind of ease and flexibility of which I have been speaking.

'Perhaps it might be a criticism of Dr. Bright's published works that reminiscences of phrase came almost too easily. The page is sometimes sprinkled almost too freely with inverted commas. But when he spoke this was not noticeable.

'I used to think Dr. Bright at his very best in preaching, especially in the later years, in which I heard him most frequently. His preaching had all the chastened spontaneity of his writing. Mere accomplishments of style would have counted for nothing if the moving ideas and interests had not been great and noble. And that in his case they emphatically were. He had some drawbacks, as I have already said, in the matter of delivery. He had had to get over a slight impediment, one consequence of which was that the words sometimes seemed to be pent up and come with a rush, so that the end of a sentence, including its most telling part, was too often lost to the hearer. His action, also, though free and unconstrained, was apt to be somewhat ungainly. But there was a fervour and earnestness in his utterance that was very impressive. He spoke as a true "ambassador of Christ" with a burning desire to win souls, and yet one thought only of the message, and not of the man. He seemed as he spoke to have before him a vision of the world unseen, which awed and subdued his language, though it did not quench the fire within.'

Of Bright's intellect, my abiding impression is of its massive power and force and grasp, its breadth, and its fairness and freedom from prejudice. There was nothing small or narrow about it, nothing one-sided. He used both eyes, and saw things stereoscopically. Consequently, he could never be a mere partisan. His mind worked in a higher plane. He was absolutely untainted by either ecclesiastical ambition and professionalism or ritualistic pettiness. He had

no desire for notoriety, popularity, or promotion. With him secondary considerations of any kind weighed absolutely nothing. Truth, in those highest regions of human thought in which his mind and spirit lived and worked—Truth earnestly longed for, and patiently and laboriously sought, then long pondered and balanced, then lucidly and exactly stated in carefully-chosen language, as before God, without fear or favour—that was at once his aim, his method, and his goal. His straightness and singleness of eye; his humble guilelessness and wholly unconscious simplicity; his freedom from the distortions of bias and prejudice; his candid, loyal, and careful estimate of the opinions of others who did not see things exactly as he did; his joyful recognition of essential moral and religious truth from whatever quarter proclaimed; his clear view of the often mistakes (as time has shown them to be) of even the greatest Christian writers, when the standing matured opinion of the general and later Church has not confirmed them; his refraining from calling any man 'Father' or 'Master' upon earth to be blindly followed; his deep and ripe knowledge of Holy Scripture as a whole, and careful observation of its interconnection and bearings—all these very rare mental powers and habits, combined consistently throughout a long life of patient, prayerful study, have given a value to his writings and his teaching which will be more and more felt and acknowledged as time goes on.

These marked features of his character and work give especial weight to the very strong anti-

Roman feeling which is so evident in many of the Letters which follow, which are, after all, but a sample of more that might be added to the same effect. It could not, indeed, be otherwise with a man of his fulness of theological and ecclesiastical learning. With my intimate knowledge of him, I was well aware of his position in this great and standing controversy, and I entirely sympathised with him. He was not nearly so one-sidedly 'Latin' or 'Western' as either Pusey or Liddon. I do not say that he knew more; though I think he did, especially of the history of the questions at issue, from original sources. But he had a braver, stronger, more masculine, and more balanced mind. He saw, and said, and wrote, long years ago, that no reunion with Rome would ever, humanly speaking, be probable; for that we could never reunite with Rome as she is, and that Rome, especially since the Vatican Council, is, and will remain, incorrigible (p. 257). Nay, more, he came, as others have come, to see that the future of Christianity is not with Rome, narrowed as she is, 'cribbed, cabined, and confined,' in her own petrified Latinism, which daily more and more becomes a mere hopeless and obsolete anachronism.[1]

[1] On February 15, 1895, Canon Bright wrote to me: 'I am delighted to hear that you approved of what I said in Convocation. . . . After all the evidence which recent years have accumulated as to the absolute impossibility of "Reunion with Rome," except on terms of absolute submission, to talk *now* as if hopes which for a while consoled Pusey, and which Pusey was constrained by imperious facts to resign, might again be indulged because Leo XIII. has expressed a strong

I do not know that he was much more hopeful, on the whole, about the orthodox Church of the East; though it and the other Eastern Christian Communions are not, apparently, so self-barred from all likelihood of upward improvement as Rome, to the heart-grief of us all, too plainly is.

His discernment, therefore, of the splendid possibilities in the future which lay before the English Church, as at once both Catholic and Protestant, and able, from her very position, to stretch out a hand on either side, made him but grieve more deeply over the unspeakable mischief which he clearly saw has been done to English Christianity by the ignorant and reckless extravagances, the 'folly and pedantry,' of a few among the younger clergy, of whom he speaks (p. 144), as long ago as 1866, as 'the puerile Ritualists.' These pseudo-'Catholics' in their juvenile wilfulness and impatience, acting on the principles of the merest Congregationalism, introduced services and a ceremonial wholly alien to the English Church. The result has been to put a serious hindrance in the way of what was surely most to be desired, as the crowning blessing of the High

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desire to promote Christian unity before he dies! He cannot promote it, except in his own sense. Trent itself, not to say the Vatican Decrees—not to dwell on the Jesuit entourage, with its solid mass of traditionary methods—stands right in the path of any such reform. To what avail were it if our Orders were to be recognised? It might abate some bitterness, and silence a good deal of captious talk about "intention." It would not—for it could not—diminish one jot of the essential Papalist claims, and to those claims we must oppose a resistance admitting of no compromise whatsoever.'

Church Revival, following, as in God's good Providence it did, upon the Evangelical Revival within the Church, namely, a general advance, steady and permanent, in the direction of a really dignified and reverent worship within the lines of the Reformed Catholic Church of England, and of a worthier conception, on the part of earnest English Church-people in general, of the kingdom of heaven, and of its claims upon them. Of this Canon Bright was very painfully conscious (see his words on pp. 143-145, 183, 287, 288, 294, 327, 329).

In general character he was before all things deeply, intensely, fervently Christian in all that goes to make a Christian, and especially a really Catholic New Testament Christian, in whatever communion, in whatever calling, in whatever rank and position in life. All men and women who knew him personally felt this by an unerring instinct, and loved and trusted him accordingly. It was part of this, as well as of his original natural endowment, that he was of a warmly affectionate nature. Yet he was never married. Whether, had he been, he would have been more or less than we his friends knew him or thought him to be, God only knows. The peculiar services he was able to render to the Church through his full term of life had, perhaps, been less. For he would not have had the same disposable time for study and for writing, and we should have been all of us to that extent the poorer. Yet it must be confessed his recluse and studious habits entailed some drawbacks. The shyness such habits engender has a tendency

to grow upon a man, especially as he gets older, and so to make him appear unsocial. The valuable time thus saved for study is often gained by the sacrifice of precious opportunities of the social influence so valuable in the life of a University, a little world in itself so largely made up of young and eager and enthusiastic spirits at the most impressible age. There was, perhaps, not quite enough of this influence in Canon Bright's life. Perhaps he did not see enough of his pupils outside his lecture-room. The same may be said of general social influence. All who knew him would have been glad to see more of him. But he has been known to pass a year or more without a visit to his nearest neighbours in the Canonical Houses at Christ Church. His intensity as a student explains really his reserve and shyness and apparent brusqueness. He had a very keen sense that friends, whether visitors or visited, are ever the 'thieves of time' —time which, in this case, was due not to himself, but to others for whom he had to provide. Yet he was not a 'don' or a misanthrope—far otherwise. There was about him no assumption of titular or artificial dignity, of the academic or of any other sort. A 'public man,' of course, he never was. He was not often to be seen at crowded meetings or on platforms. But his solitary, almost anchoret, life did not restrict or starve his sympathies nor narrow his interests. For myself, I have the most vivid, and at the same time the most grateful, recollection of two occasions, while we sat together in the Southern

Convocation, which abundantly illustrate this. The first was an attack—apropos, if I remember rightly, of the financial position of clergymen—on the married life of the clergy. This, from one who had married young, and had probably never in all his life known the want of money, made me, I remember, somewhat indignant. But I said nothing; it was not worth while. One knew, and one knows, that in that matter one can trust the common-sense of Convocation, and, more, of the Church and of the nation behind it. But, to my delight, a mighty champion of liberty in that matter arose in the person of my dear friend, the celibate Professor Canon of Christ Church. I did not suggest it, for I never sat near him in Convocation, but I thanked him afterwards. The second occasion (I forget how long afterwards) was similar, and was partly my own fault. Meeting my old friend, Dean Butler of Lincoln, the former offender, in the antechamber, I referred to the attack he had made on us poor married clergy. He was 'not a bit sorry, and would do it again.' And he did—that day—with the same result. But I never observed any tendency towards marriage in my friend himself. I well remember his admirable mother, from whom the general resemblance in contour of head and face suggested a transmitted inheritance, such as may be often observed, of natural ability from mother to son, saying to me on one occasion, 'Oh, Mr. Medd, I wish you could find a nice wife for William!' But that was not to be. If we seek for natural causes of his solitary life, we may perhaps find

them in that shyness and nervous hesitation of which I have spoken, and which may very probably have been the result of the peculiar conditions of his early life, which forced him in upon himself. It was certainly not the result of any absence of affectionate capacities in his nature and disposition. He never entered as much as was to be desired into general society, where yet he was always welcomed. He had warm friends. But perhaps his study table was his chief and most absorbing attraction, for he knew that his duty to the first Friend of all lay there.

It was, of course, as representative of the Cathedral Chapter of Oxford that he sat in Convocation, succeeding Dr. Mozley in 1878. He there speedily became a power, and made a deep and permanent impression. For there were few, perhaps none, who on many subjects that came before that venerable assembly could speak with equal authority and weight.

All who were privileged to listen to him felt this. But perhaps, as its chairman, I may be allowed to speak more especially of the help he gave to the Lower House Committee on Additional Services, and which none of its members was so well qualified to give as he. For even apart from his full liturgical knowledge, his sympathetic sense of what was practically needed in pastoral work was remarkable in one who had had no direct experience of it. Much labour, extending over some years and involving long journeys on the part of the members of both the Canterbury and the York Committees for the

purpose of conference, was spent upon this work. For it was felt by the Lower House, though, unhappily, not by the Bishops, to be an urgently needed work. The need was shown by the fact that the Church was flooded with unauthorised and tentative services, for all sorts of occasions, while many parish priests declined on principle to use such services, even when perfectly loyal and unobjectionable; and so the acknowledged needs of the Church, the deficiencies in her Prayer-Book, were unprovided for—and are so still. It is a melancholy history. Nowhere else in the religious world is so much learning, energy, and power, not to speak of precious time, wasted, for the most part without result, as in the English Convocations. A carefully prepared and full report was presented by the Services Committee of the Lower House in February, 1888, and four services were, after adoption by the Lower House, sent on to the Upper House in the following July. Nothing more was heard of them for nearly four years, when, in May, 1892, they were noticed by the Upper House, but never revised or completed. How many years were expended on the revision of the Accession Service from first to last I should be afraid to say; but one may be thankful that Convocation had the advantage of Canon Bright's presence to almost, if not quite, the completion of that work.

The story of Canon Bright's last illness may perhaps be best given in his own words, in the last letter he ever wrote to me:—

'CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
'*November* 25, 1900.

'MY DEAR MEDD,

'No letter that I have received since my "attack" has been so practically helpful and suggestive as yours. I will at once tell you what happened on October 29. I had been rather unwell for two days previously. A dull headache oppressed me, perhaps brought on, immediately, by excessive work at certain "proofs." Early on that Monday morning I sent a request to Sankey to come to me after he was free of his home patients—that is, about 11. But at 10.15 I began to feel a curious sensation, as if the room were whirling round. It was the sensation one has in a gale of wind at sea, exaggerated. I managed to get on to my sofa, and then, after a few moments, to rise up from it, when I was flung forward on the hearthrug with a violence which put out the middle finger of the right hand. Stanley, Sankey's partner, was presently at hand, and replaced the joint, with very much less of sensible pain than I should have expected, because sensation was, in fact, benumbed. Stanley felt and expressed to my friend Seary his fear that creeping paralysis was rapidly developing, and Sankey afterwards told me that I was in real danger of life for three hours or so, but that from 1 or 1.30 I began to improve, and that the steadiness and continuousness of the improvement were "wonderful." He kept me in bed for several days. By degrees—I forget how soon—I was allowed to get up for part of the day; and now I come down to breakfast, and have given my lectures for the last week. For three weeks I had received the Vice-Chancellor's dispensation. The chief features of my present condition are: (1) The necessity, urged on me by Sankey, of great care to avoid cold; (2) a persistent weakness in the right hand; (3) a dull headache, recurring at short intervals; (4) a very annoying irritation of the skin of both legs and the left arm; (5) a curious disposition to shut my eyes, and keep them shut, if not to go to sleep for a large part of the day; (6) a disposition, perhaps allied to it, to avoid receiving callers; (7) in lecturing, a tendency to put one word for another. I will take note of what you recommend, as to the Bovril and milk, and Horlick's Malted Milk, and the periodical drives, etc. For a time I was obliged to take something during the night, a glass

of wine and a biscuit at 11, and I shall take these to-morrow before lecturing, and, I think, shall keep some Bovril by my bedside, as Louis XIV. used to keep a roast fowl, which he was pleased to call his *en cas*. I have a fire to dress by in the morning. I think I take all the precautions that you advise. . . . I am under no illusions as to the certainty, humanly speaking, of a recurrence of the attack. I know that a first *means* a second, and I accept the warning as mercifully given. I forgot to say that I read the most part of your letter to Sankey. He smiled, acquiesced at every point, then asked, "How does he know all that?" I answered, "His father was a doctor." Farewell, with a thousand thanks.

'Ever yours affectionately,

'W. BRIGHT.

'We here are terribly distressed and upset by the death of Mrs. Paget. In her I have lost my only female friend.'

Some time after I wrote again to my friend. The only answer I received was from a nurse, to say that he was now unable to answer, or even to read, letters. He passed away on March 6, 1901.

Canon Driver, preaching in Christ Church Cathedral on the text Jer. xxxi. 33, said:

'Rare intellectual gifts were his by nature, and he consecrated all to the service and worship of God. History, especially ecclesiastical history, was his favourite subject, though it was by no means the only subject in which he excelled. Those who have attended his lectures know what animation he would throw into them, and how, by some felicitously-told anecdote or flash of quaint humour, he could sustain the interest of his hearers, while his published writings declare to the world at large the prodigious width and minuteness of his reading, and the skill with which he could weave isolated notices into a complete and geographically-drawn picture. He excelled especially in biography. His keen personal interest in his subject, and the vivacity of his historical imagination, enabled him to describe characteristic incidents and scenes with telling and dramatic effect. The chequered

and often tragic story of the introduction and gradual establishment of Christianity in England has been recounted by him with such fulness of incident and illustration that there will never, we may feel sure, be occasion for it to be told again on the same scale. His numerous writings on the history of the Early Church show the same qualities—rich and picturesque narratives, with graphic touches, often at the same time tinged with a gentle humour, tending to bring the scene or occasion depicted vividly before the reader's mind—in this case, also, coupled generally with a penetrating insight into the theological issues often involved, and a luminous presentation of the principles at stake, or the doctrines around which a controversy had gathered. He had an almost unique power of combining, with ease and lightness of touch, historical and doctrinal movements into a single narrative, of showing how they interacted upon one another, and of bringing out the crucial moments in the progress of a great controversy. Animation of thought and of expression, not less than of action, was, perhaps, the most striking of his personal characteristics; and, as he had at the same time a singularly powerful and tenacious grasp both of the facts and history and also of the different aspects and bearings of Christian truth, what with another man would often have been laboured and heavy was with him fresh and sparkling, and full of life. It was a consequence of the same gifts of manner and style that he was able to present the characteristic principles of Christian doctrine and practice in a form at once simple, dignified, and attractive. He was perfectly at home in the great Christian classics of antiquity; he knew the exact doctrinal scope and significance of each, and his retentive memory enabled him always to produce the quotation or other illustration which he needed. Devotedly loyal to Catholic truth, he was at the same time large-minded and sympathetic; and those who have listened to his studies in Scripture characters, or his expositions of Christian faith and practice from this place, will bear witness not only to the deep spirituality of thought which always characterised them, but also to their breadth and justness of view, to their penetrating analysis of motive and action, and to the sympathetic insight into the life and character and habits of thought of other men, which he always displayed when he began to give practical applications of doctrinal and moral

truth. Deeply religious, deeply practical, and written with the same characteristic charms of manner and style as his other writings, his sermons were always singularly helpful and suggestive. Nor is this all. He was master, in addition, of the rare art of being able to compose both prayers and hymns in a chaste and classical style suited to the dignity of the subject. Of his hymns, there are some so well known, and so justly admired, that they will, we cannot doubt, continue for long to perpetuate his name. All may not have known who the author was, but all will surely remember the hymn with which our Sunday evening service sometimes closes, beginning with the verse:

> ‘“And now the wants are told, that brought
> Thy children to Thy knee;
> Here, lingering still, we ask for naught,
> But simply worship Thee;”

and the two Communion hymns:

> ‘“And now, O Father, mindful of the love
> That bought us, once for all, on Calvary’s Tree,
> And having with us Him that pleads above,
> We here present, we here spread forth to Thee
> That only Offering, perfect in Thine eyes,
> The one true, pure, immortal Sacrifice;”

and:

> ‘“Once, only once, and once for all,
> His precious life He gave;
> Before the Cross our spirits fall,
> And own it strong to save.”

‘Beauty and spirituality of thought, and choice yet simple diction, could hardly be more felicitously blended. He loved, moreover, the cathedral and the college with which for more than thirty years his life had been so closely linked. He loved the services, and was keenly interested in any proposal tending to increase their beauty or efficiency. He discharged with scrupulous conscientiousness all the duties that devolved upon him in virtue of his position, and gave especial pains to anything relating to the important and responsible task of appointing to vacant benefices. He was a friend, moreover,

of the young, and there are many who in after-life have retained grateful memories of his kindness. In Convocation, which he attended for many years as the representative of the Chapter, he commanded universal respect. He spoke with ability. The stores of historical and theological knowledge which he had at his disposal always provided him with apt illustrations of the subject in hand, and enabled him to approach it from the right side. He knew, further, how to combine firmness and tolerance, and the spirit which breathed in him was always one of sympathetic and conciliatory large-mindedness, such as disarms opposition and converts hostility into admiration. His friends and colleagues, who had learnt by long experience both to love him as a man and also to value his opinion and judgment, will mourn him deeply. They will feel that his death has deprived not only his own college and University, but the Church of this nation at large, of a rare and richly-gifted personality, but they will at the same time cherish delightful memories of his genial presence, his animated look, his kindly sympathy. They will be able to look back with thoughts of thankfulness upon the example which he has set—upon his long life of consistent goodness, of generosity and charity, of amiability and gentleness, of high endeavour and Christian usefulness; upon his talents, too, which were no ordinary ones, fitly bestowed and fruitfully developed. They will remember him as one who lived ever as in the presence of his Lord and Saviour, whose honour was dear to him, and whose service he loved. They will think of him as one whose life was a constant exemplification of the spirit of Christ, who strove, as far as in him lay, to be conformable to His image, and who had His laws, as the prophet says, so "written" in his heart that he responded instinctively to their call. May those of us who remain lay to heart the lesson of his life! May we, during the time of our sojourning here, so, by God's grace, order our lives in conformity with His will that, like His servants departed this life in His faith and fear, we may in His good time be made partakers of His heavenly kingdom, and enter with them into the joy of our Lord!'

In connection with the above, the following appreciation by Canon Scott Holland of Canon

Bright, his character and work, will be read with equal interest by all who knew him :

'All over England there will be those whose hearts will give a sudden leap at the news that Dr. Bright has passed away from the place that knew him so well and where he had so long been familiar. He was part and parcel of Oxford life. His memory was one with the memories of the gray walls and towers of that sweet city to which our hearts cling so tenderly. Always in and out of its courts, he could be caught sight of, vanishing round corners with strange motions all his own ; or his delighted laugh could be heard startling the dumb stones as he greeted some young undergraduate with ringing welcome. His soul was always young, and loved the young, and he had singular gifts for engaging and amusing them. His intense dramatic skill in telling a story (and his stories were infinite), his almost biblical knowledge of all the pages of Dickens, his shouts of glee, his outpour of play, and fancy, and allusion— all this made his dinner-parties for undergraduates historical events. His love for youth spread down to children ; he knew their wants and joys with a brotherly instinct. "Shall we have a fag?" was his famous invitation to some boys whom he was taking out for a trip by train, in whom he detected an inarticulate craving for something to enliven proceedings. At the scene that followed that invitation imagination boggles. He was impulsive and spontaneous, and amazingly fertile, in all that belonged to conversation. The stores on which he drew were immense, and his imaginative and humorous powers were very high indeed.

'It was this which made his lecturing so impressive. I well remember the effect of coming to his lectures, after having listened to the best Tutors and Professors who then were lecturing for the School of Lit. Hum. He stood out as a brilliant artist in his own historical field. He captivated by his intense realisation of the inner significance of a scene or a person. His whole being was thrown into the work of making this realisation felt. His minute knowledge of detail was most skilfully handled to heighten or deepen the momentous effects, and his vivid personal interest in the subject gave it extraordinary animation. All his best gifts were in richest use as he lectured. The names and allusions which sometimes

overlay, by their multitude, the broad effect of his books were swept along into the main current by the energy of his dramatic force as he spoke. He was really a first-rate speaker and preacher. The quaintness of the gestures interspersed, the odd noises interjected, disturbed and bewildered the young, so that they often missed the power of speech or of appeal that lay behind. Undergraduates were easily upset. But for those who could survive mere surface difficulties there was a gift felt at work which was rarely equalled. There was a free and noble use of the best theology, in its most living form, which made his sermons profoundly attractive and impressive; or, in open speaking, there was often, combined with a real eloquence, a dignity with which he would wrap his gown about him as if it were a Roman toga, and a high passion in his voice, which at happy moments would give telling effect to an oratory that was always fed out of Catholic convictions in their largeness and their splendour.

'Of his productive erudition in the field of ecclesiastical history it is needless to speak. His work is on all our shelves. It is always full of matter and excellent reading. More especially did he excel in illustrating theological positions by embodying them in personal lives of the champions. By this he has carried along generation after generation of those who, being clergy, feel that they ought to know so much more than they do.

'But, besides this continuous work of rescuing us from abysmal ignorance, he has shown himself a finished master in two departments where the fewest possible ever succeed. He could write a prayer, and he could write a hymn. Only two or three in a generation ever attain to this. But he at his best was nearly perfect, and he was not unfrequently at his best. His book of private devotions has prayers as compact, dignified, and personal as Collects. What more can be said? As long as our Church lives we shall sing, at most sacred hours, "Once, only once," and "And now, O Father," and so his breath will be ever with us, and his memory never willingly let die. It is worth living for, to have left behind one such hymn which will be sung by unnumbered generations.

'Death is not the hour in which to speak of his unflagging controversies on behalf of the Anglican position in which he believed with such heart-whole fervour, and to the justification

of which he brought all his intellectual resources with unstinted keenness and devotion. We owe him debts that cannot be repaid.

'But now we want chiefly to recall the man whom we loved. He has had many a weary physical trouble to bear all through life. Dyspepsia gave him bad hours. But his innate cheerfulness rose again buoyant and triumphant, and it lasted him to the end. Long after he had been broken by the stroke that led to his death he retained his vivid interest and warm affection, and talked with his old delightful freedom and brightness. He lived alone, but he was, however, in the hearts of many, both young and old. He had that outflow of sympathy for people far younger than himself which kept him in touch with movements of thought not wholly his own. He was open, expansive, alert. He never shut himself up into the prison-walls of age. Therefore he belonged to us all, and therefore it is that we miss him sorely now that he is taken to the rest which his long years of unwearied industry for the cause of the Catholic Church and for the honour of the dear Lord whom he loved and adored have so bravely earned.'

I have now only to add that Dr. Bright availed himself at times of the help of the following friends as Assistant Lecturers: (1) On the Reformation Period, the late Rev. Aubrey Moore, the late H. O. Wakeman, and (1892 to 1901) the Rev. B. J. Kidd (the Editor of the following Letters); and (2) On the Ante-Nicene Period, C. H. Turner, Esq., Fellow of Magdalen.

Bright was buried in Osney Cemetery at Oxford. His memory is enshrined in the hearts of those who knew him and loved him. His monument is the written works which will remain the permanent treasure of the English-speaking Church.

P. GOLDSMITH MEDD.

North Cerney Rectory,
Gloucestershire.

DR. BRIGHT'S FIRST VISIT TO ROME.

[In the very interesting narrative of Canon Bright's Vacation 'expeditions,' beginning March 30, 1876, and extending to August, 1900, referred to above (p. xxxiii), there is a specially valuable record of his first impressions of Rome, which he did not visit until late in life. The descriptions of one who, from the fulness of his knowledge, had so quick an eye for everything of historical and ecclesiastical importance, will be valued by all persons of culture and education. But I have thought it better to append the narrative here than to interrupt the Memoir by so many pages.—P. G. M.]

'April 6, 1896, the most memorable of all our expeditions began. We left Oxford on Easter Monday afternoon, and next morning went on with the "Lunn" party to Dover, "and so to Calais, Paris, Modane, and through the Mont Cenis Tunnel on to Turin." The first sight of Italy as we emerged from the tunnel was wonderfully beautiful. The Cathedral of Turin dark and not beautiful. The Chapel of the Sudarium behind the high altar, and accessible through the palace. The Sudarium itself has not been exhibited since 1842. . . . On April 9 we left Turin, had half an hour at Genoa, and afterwards shot through some

fifty tunnels which pierce the maritime range of the Apennines. The intense blue of the sky and of the Mediterranean, the rich vegetation in terraces one over another, the gardens full of lemon and orange trees, the ever-recurring campaniles of churches, the huge shadowy mass of Elba, made the journey wonderfully interesting. . . . Soon after midnight we found ourselves actually in the Eternal City, driving along the silent streets of the Quirinal to our Hotel, de Russie at the foot of the Pincian. . . . Next day, April 10, we began our sight-seeing. Dr. Russell Forbes gave the party a good lecture on the Palatine, beginning at the Via Nova in the west and underneath the Tiberian Palace ruins, and going along the south side, with its grand view of the Aventine, and passing through the guard-chamber, where the "graffito" of "Alexamenos worshipping his god" had been found, up to the summit of the Palatine. There we saw the Temple of Cybele, and the house of Germanicus, excavated by Napoleon III., and the dark passage where Caligula was murdered, Domitian's Palace, and a great basilica, or hall of justice, on the site of which Dr. Forbes thought it not improbable that St. Paul had stood to plead before Nero. The palace was built above that of Augustus. At the foot of the Collis Victoriæ, underneath the ancient Roma Quadrata, part of the wall of which is visible at the west end of the Palatine, we looked down on the Pomœrium at the base of the Capitoline, and understood the relation between the old Roman and old Sabine town. Here was the Porta Romana of the

Palatine, below the house of Tiberius. Otho passed through it to the Forum at his accession. The steps to the Tiberian Palace remain. Along the southern side, where the tree-covered Aventine spread itself out to view, with recollections of the old Roman plebeians, and of Jerome's devout and learned lady friends, we had our first sight of the dome of St. Peter's.

'On the south of the Palatine is the house of Clodius, restored by Hadrian. In the guard-room we saw "ΦΗΛΙΚΙ Feli" scratched on the wall. The modern gasworks are on the site of the Circus Maximus on the south. Within the Palatine is a stadium built by Domitian, turned into a hippodrome by Diocletian. On the east side, the Palace of Commodus, where Mammæa set up schools for Christians; on the south, to the left, the Temple of Jupiter Stator; then on the north side, on a lower slope, the house which Cicero had inhabited; then the wildly arranged, or disarranged, series of chambers built by Caligula (almost symbolic of his madness) extending to the place where Claudius was found hiding for his life, and whence he was brought out an Emperor.

'In the afternoon Dr. Forbes lectured on the Forum, explaining all the great features of the unique scene, especially the Julian Rostra, where Cæsar's corpse was shown to the crowd, the site of the Comitium on the right—*i.e.*, looking westward—and that of the Temple of Concord on the left, the three columns representing the Temple of Vespasian, the eight Ionic columns represent-

ing that of Saturn, with the Via Sacra running between; the Arch of Severus, where Caracalla had effaced the name of his brother Geta; the Basilica Julia, or grand Law Court and Exchange; the three columns of the Temple of Castor and Pollux; close under the Palatine the Temple of Vesta and the Palace of the Vestals; the Column of Phocas in centre of Forum. Then the Arch of Titus further east, with its sculpture representing the treasures of the Temple of Jerusalem. In the Forum, also, in the Via Sacra, is the site of the butchers' shops, with the spot where Virginia was slain. Fragments of pillars represent a temple whence Cæsar carried off the public money for his wars. The Senate House, on the north side, is partly turned into a very plain-looking church (S. Adriano). In the Palace of the Vestals (atrium Vestæ) is an erasure on one inscription, of the name of a chief Vestal, who is *supposed*, from the combination of a cross with the brooch on her statue, to have been secretly a Christian.

'I went with two young clerics named Phillip to San Gregorio, on the Cœlian, with its unspeakably interesting memories of the mission of St. Augustine and his companions. In a side-chapel of the church Gregory's stone chair is preserved. Near this is the huge Colosseum which superseded part of Nero's enormous "Golden House." We saw the various tiers of seats for all the classes of Roman society, the Emperor's place nearest the arena. Substructions, recently laid bare, showed the outlets through which the gladiators and the wild beasts seemed to rise out

of the earth. On April 11 I looked into three churches of St. Mary near our hotel. In S. Maria del Popolo, representing a church where Luther said Mass, were black trappings for an aristocratic funeral. The gate del Popolo has a new inscription, referring to the restoration of liberty in 1870. This inscription is in contrast with that within the gateway, which celebrates Pius VII. as having done much (in the last year of his reign) to dignify and enlarge this great entrance to the city.

'Mr. Douglas Hamilton, the Incumbent of a church at Halifax, our invaluable and most kind fellow-traveller and friend, took us to St. Peter's and the Vatican Palace. We visited the latter first, after admiring the great obelisk fronting the piazza, and the flight of steps behind it to the great doors of the cathedral. The Sistine Chapel disappointed us. The figure of Christ in the Last Judgment over the altar resembles a heathen god in a fury. In the galleries Raphael's better work, the Transfiguration, prominent. One very hideous picture of a massacre of priests by Netherland Protestants, but no representation of Alva's barbarities to Protestants, or of the autos-da-fé in Spain! The stately staircases very impressive.

'Entering St. Peter's, we soon came to appreciate its vastness. St. Peter's is 613½ feet long, St. Paul's in London 520½ feet; but in area St. Peter's is twice as large as St. Paul's. When, on returning to London, we entered St. Paul's, we said instinctively, "How small!" At what does not seem a great distance from the end —the east end, in fact—is "Londinensis S. Pauli

fanum," the word chosen, of course, by way of insult to a heretical cathedral. The statue of St. Peter smaller than I expected. According to Lanciani, it was not originally a statue of Jupiter, but was cast to represent Peter; if in Constantine's time, the keys (of a much later shape) must have been added. The toes of one foot are worn away with continual kissing. The high altar looks grand under its baldachino. The crucifix is on the farther side, looking towards the choir, which here is the *western* limb of the church. We noticed the fine statue of Pius VI., kneeling towards the "Confession" of St. Peter, beneath. There is a new inscription in progress, extending into the transept, containing, "Unde unitas sacerdotii exoritur," and around the wall at the west extremity is: "O Pastor Ecclesiæ, tu omnes Christi pascis agnos et oves. ΣΥ ΒΟΣΚΕΙΣ ΤΑ ΑΡΝΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΑ ΠΡΟΒΑΤΑ ΧΡΙΣΤΟΥ." We looked through the doors of the *Cappella del Coro*, on the south (*seemingly* north) side of the nave. A lectern in centre; stalls for the Canons. Various noble monuments and statues of Popes: Innocent XI., worn and resolute; Pius VII., gentle; Gregory XVI., aged and austere. Seven altars peculiarly "privileged." Against a wall near the entrance of the nave is the Stuart monument, recognising the old Chevalier as "James III.," but Charles and Henry simply as his sons.

'In the afternoon we visited San Clemente. To see it with its red colouring, and with the vivid look of real antiquity, was a unique experience. A serving brother (the church belongs to Irish

Dominicans) took us down to the "second church," with its curious ninth-century frescoes, one representing Clement celebrating at a low table. The graves of Clement and Ignatius are in the upper church. The lowest of the three stories, said to be the original house of Clement, is under water. The Church of St. Mary of the Angels is ample, though made out of one part of the vast Baths of Diocletian, which could accommodate 3,200 persons. It was founded by Pius IV. It contains an exquisite statue of St. Bruno. Thence by the street of Tre Fontane to the piazza of the Quirinal; looked at, but did not enter the palace. We went to early Communion on Low Sunday at the English Church of All Saints, in Via Babuino. It has a beautiful sanctuary with a well-decked altar; correct ritual, but no vestments. Afterwards to St. John Lateran. The baldachino over the high altar is Gothic, the sanctuary containing at its extremity the episcopal throne, splendidly restored by Leo XIII. This throne of the Diocese of Rome has a beautiful enamelled border and other curious inlaid work. Round the apse runs a gold inscription, on blue, that Leo XIII. ordered, the "cella maxima" to be enlarged "in novam apsidem," and the mosaics to be renewed. The new frescoes represent the Mount of Paradise and four streams from under a decorated cross, two harts drinking of the water. The impression here is more religious than at St. Peter's. Outside the west front runs the proud inscription: "Omnium urbis et orbis ecclesiarum mater et caput."

'Roman street scenes are rich in colouring, especially the headgear of the women of the lower class. They also like red neckerchiefs and white caps just set on the top of the head. Men also like varieties of colour in their clothes—blue and red with striped stockings, etc. Clerical students appear in dresses of various hues, some all in scarlet; goatherds with quaint goatskin leggings, driving their goats into or out of the city, probably just as in Virgil's time. . . . In the late afternoon we went to St. Peter's for a *Te Deum*, on the anniversary of the Pope's coronation. It was sung in the choir, or tribune, the altar at that west end ablaze with lights. A dense crowd; the music grave and solemn; many knelt at the "Te ergo quæ sumus" ("We therefore pray Thee"). The Host was afterwards exposed and Benediction given. As we descended the steps (which remain from the old church) I looked up to the windows of the Papal apartments and saw two faces, one of them obviously that of Leo XIII. The other was that of an attendant ecclesiastic. We heard afterwards that the old man had looked out on the multitude issuing from the church and been pleased.

'Next day I went to the Capitoline Hill with Dr. Hamilton, and afterwards to the Tarpeian Rock and the Pantheon. Next day we heard a topographical lecture from Canon Evans at S. Pietro in Montorio — a grand panorama. Obviously, the notion that the martyrdom of St. Peter took place on Montorio is absurd, although it gave occasion to the foundation of the

church. He suffered, one cannot doubt (if he did suffer at Rome), in the Neronian Circus, "midway between its two goals," on the left-hand side of St. Peter's and at the foot of the great obelisk, which then stood there, but which Sixtus V. removed to its present place in front of the church. Thence to S. Paolo fuori, a most magnificent new basilica, replacing the old one burnt in 1823. It gives a very good idea of the interior form and aspect of old St. Peter's. We were deeply impressed with its splendour and its lonesomeness. We drove on to Tre Fontane, and entered the three little chapels, of which one is said to occupy the site of St. Paul's martyrdom. Trappist monks hold the place. We heard them singing an Office. A lay-brother very cordial; he had come from Germany but had not yet felt the unhealthiness of the spot. In the afternoon, with Father Puller, Père Duchesne, to visit the Catacomb of St. Priscilla, outside the Porta Salaria. In this cemetery, Lanciani says, was buried Pudens, Praxedes, and Prisca, the wife of Aquila. "St. Pudentiana," he adds, is a mistake for the adjective belonging to the "Ecclesia" *of Pudens*. Passed between layers of "loculi," with occasional "arcosolia" and abundance of paintings; deep dark passage — difficult walking. On April 16, by special permission obtained from the Papal Court by Mr. Hamilton (on the ground of his family's relationship to the House of Stuart), we went down into the crypt of St. Peter's, with Mr. W. A. Carroll (of Christ Church Mission, Poplar) and his mother. A most deeply interesting sight:

Tombs of medieval Popes, including the English Hadrian IV.; also the bulging-out stone tombs of "King James III.," and of "Carolus III." and "Henricus IX." Afterwards we were privileged to enter into the "Confession," and our young acolyte guide unlocked the gilded doors of the shrine. We saw a chest marked with a cross. The tomb of Alexander VI. is empty; Julius II., who abhorred him, turned his body out of St. Peter's. Part of the tomb of Boniface VIII. remains; part also of Paul II.'s and Nicholas V.'s. One of the finest things in the crypt is the noble sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, a Christian Prefect of Rome, A.D. 359. The "Confession," or shrine of St. Peter, is supposed to contain half of the body of St. Peter, the other half being at the Lateran, and half of that of St. Paul. Hence the phrase "the threshold of the Apostles."

'Afterwards we ascended the dome. W. went up into the ball itself. In the afternoon we drove along the Via Appia for rather more than two miles, just far enough to see the double line of tombs, passing the little chapel of "Domine, quo vadis?" and the entrance to the Catacomb of St. Callistus. We also visited the stupendous Baths of Caracalla, looked at the outside of Newman's cardinalitial Church of St. George in Velabro, and walked along the Via Portæ Latinæ to a turn admitting into a by-lane, and so to the octagonal Chapel of St. John at the Latin Gate, in front of a closed gate in the ancient city wall. This little chapel is only of the sixteenth century. There is a church of the twelfth century near it.

'On April 16 we visited S. Maria Maggiore, and went into both its splendidly adorned chapels, the Paoline or Borghese on the north, and the Sistine on the south. The latter has a statue of Sixtus V. with a vigorous, stern face. Thence to S. Prassede, professedly containing the bodies of SS. Praxedes and "Pudentiana," and the Pillar of the Scourging. Then, after some difficulty, we found "St. Pudentiana's" Church very near S. M. Maggiore, but in a by-street, Via Urbana.

'It is quite modernized but a subterranean passage leads down to a well, associated in legend with St. Lawrence. We looked again at the window over the gate of the Quirinal Palace, whence the election of Popes used to be proclaimed. A noble group of horses in front of it, and a superb view of St. Peter's. The Popes occupied the palace from Paul V.'s time to the Revolution of 1870.

'On the same day, April 16, we went to Naples. The Campagna, through which the line passes, has fine mountain scenery, with villages perched on hillsides, distant castles, burial-grounds with cypresses, and, towards the end of the journey, miles of vines trained along low, spreading poplars, with gray olive-trees. We saw Monte Cassino, halfway to Naples. A group of lofty buildings towers up on the summit of a rocky hill. We went to a fine hotel called "de Vesuve," on the Chiaja at Naples, with a magnificent view of Vesuvius. Here we found our friend Mr. Hamilton, Dr. Townsend, Mr. Morton, and some of the Perowne family. Next day, in brilliant sunshine,

we set off for Pompeii, after visiting the Pompeian remains in the Museo Nazionale. They include carpenter's tools, door-knockers, petrified bread and fruit, tall lamps for the "atrium" or "triclinium" of dwelling-houses, cornices inlaid, chair-handles, perfume-boxes, water-spouts, stocks for criminals, milk-jugs (highly ornamented), oil-vessels, wine-flasks, furnaces for heating water, treasure-chests, house-bells, frying-pans, eggcups, plates for boiling eggs, and what not besides. Dr. Townsend told us that some of the probes, pincers, forceps, two-edged knives, specula, etc., were identical in principle with those now in use. The whole daily and domestic environment of a Roman gentleman at his "Brighton" was before us. At Pompeii, which was overwhelmed by a storm of ashes flowing from Vesuvius, while Herculaneum was crushed under thickening streams of lava, we found workmen excavating the uppermost chambers of houses; one brilliant bit of red painting had been discovered four days before. At the base of the Temple of Jupiter, looking down on the Forum, Mr. Hamilton lectured on the destruction of Pompeii and on its history in general, and read the letter of Pliny the younger about his uncle's death. We entered a number of houses which exhibited the construction of any well-to-do Roman villa. In one of them we saw an actual triclinium. In a modern house near the entrance human bodies preserved under coatings of ashes, some in horrible writhing postures, were exposed to view. We walked down the "Street of Tombs" to the gate looking

towards Herculaneum. After a wildly rapid drive to the station, we caught the evening train, and reached Naples about seven. The sides of Vesuvius were illuminated by lines of red lava. . . . Next morning we had exquisite views of the bay and of Capri. We visited the public gardens and the cathedral, which is professedly Gothic, but not at all beautiful. We were shown the tomb of St. Januarius, and had we been "Catholics" might have had the privilege of kissing the "finger" of the saint in a glass case. . . . We entered a round church opposite the palace, built by the restored Bourbon King, in discharge of a vow, in 1816. It has a magnificent statue of St. Athanasius. Returned to the Hotel de Russie at Rome.

'Next day, the second Sunday after Easter, W. went to High Mass at St. Peter's. We afterwards met at All Saints'. One soon gets tired of the Roman churches. W. heard vespers exquisitely sung by nuns at S. Trinità de' Monti. In Via Babuino we met a ghastly procession of hired attendants at funerals, wrapt from head to foot in blue gowns, with cowls—the face covered up, save for two eyeholes; in front a banner with grim emblems of death; closing the train a priest in short surplice and black stole. Next day we visited the Vatican Library, passing by the sacristy of St. Peter's, which occupies the probable spot of his martyrdom. We saw the great Vatican manuscript, open at Ps. 9 ff.; a copy of Henry VIII.'s book on the Seven Sacraments, with his autograph signature, etc. But it hardly

looks like a library ; by far the larger number of the books are in closed cases. But there are many objects—some from catacombs—representing early Christian art, such as Greek crosses of thin gold, and vessels said to have held martyrs' blood. We looked down from a terrace on the Vatican gardens, which disappointed us by their apparent small extent. Among the sculptures of the galleries we saw the Apollo Belvedere and the Laocoön. The inner court has a tall column made by Pius IX.'s order to commemorate the Vatican Council. Leo XIII. found that its only secure site would be within the precincts of his vast palace. In the afternoon we drove with Mr. Rumsey, Vicar of Burnham, to San Lorenzo "fuori." This church has a double line of columns, two "ambons" like those of St. Clement (one single, one double), a high altar looking towards the episcopal throne in the sanctuary beyond, and beneath it a "Confession," said to contain the bodies of SS. Stephen, Lawrence, and Justin Martyr. Lawrence doubtless was buried there—possibly Justin, too. Beyond the sanctuary is a decorated chapel containing the remains of Pius IX. Next to S. Croce in Gerusalemme ; looked at its specially venerated chapel called "Holy Jerusalem," which, according to an inscription, women are forbidden to enter, save on March 20, the anniversary of the dedication. A slab asserts that Helena brought some earth from Calvary, and deposited it in a vault beneath. Next to the Scala Santa at St. John Lateran. This seemed to us the most solemnly pathetic

place we had seen in Rome, for we saw pious people going up the stairs laboriously on their knees, and praying at the gate of the chapel above, called "The Holy of Holies." "Heretics" may only walk up the two side-staircases, and so reach the entrance to this chapel. It is a truly awe-striking place. In front of the chapel is the inscription "Vulneratus est propter iniquitates nostras." Below, in the vestibule, there are majestic statues of our Lord. We entered the baptistery of the Lateran, and heard a Burial Office performed there (it is used as a parish church). On one side is a chapel of St. John Evangelist, with "Love one another" over the door.

'We visited several other churches, as of S. Maria sopra Minerva, the nave of which is Gothic, and has a statue of Christ bearing the Cross, by Michael Angelo — for the scene of Molinos' forced abjuration in this church, see "John Inglesant," chap. xxxviii.—and of St. Louis of France, which has on its front the old royal arms of France with the lilies, and, inside, epitaphs in French. We also saw a noble "Temple of Nymphs," wrongly called the Temple of Minerva Medica, and a fine fragment called an altar of Minerva in the Via Alessandrina. One very curious open space in this part of the city seemed entirely abandoned to cats.

'Next day, April 21, we left Rome for Genoa, where we found there was an Anglican "Church of the Holy Spirit," with very frequent Celebrations. We had no time to explore the marble glories of the City of Palaces. But while driving

next morning to the station we looked down several curious narrow lanes communicating with the wider streets, like those at Yarmouth. Ascending towards the Alps, we enjoyed splendid mountain views. An amphitheatre of Alps seemed to expand behind Turin, where we stayed an hour, and were delighted with the Corso Vittore Emmanuele and its rows of plane and chestnut trees. Above Turin snow lay pretty thick at several points on the sides of the railway, contiguous to images of soft, delicate spring verdure. Every available patch of ground, high up on hillsides, was utilised for vine culture.

'At 7 a.m. on April 23 we found ourselves again in Paris, and reached London at 6. Next morning we went to St. Paul's. The first thought was, "How small in comparison of St. Peter's!"'

DR. BRIGHT'S PUBLISHED WORKS

1857. Ancient Collects.
1860. History of the Church from the Edict of Milan.
1864. Faith and Life.
1865. Liber Precum Publicarum: a Latin Version of the Book of Common Prayer. (With Canon Medd.)
1866. Hymns and other Poems.
1874. A sermon on 'The Priesthood.'
1877. The Roman Claims tested by Antiquity.
1878. Chapters of Early English Church History.
1882. Notes on the Canons of the First Four General Councils.
„ Private Prayers for a Week.
1885. Family Prayers for a Week.
1886. Iona, and other Verses.
1887. Addresses on the Seven Sayings from the Cross.
1889. The Incarnation as a Motive Power.
1890. Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers.
1892. Morality in Doctrine.
1894. Waymarks in Church History.
1896. The Roman See in the Early Church.
1897. The Proper Sense of the Word 'Catholic' as applied to Christian Communities or Individuals.
1898. Some Aspects of Early Church Life.
„ The Law of Faith.
1903. A posthumous work, in two volumes, entitled: 'The Age of the Fathers; being Chapters in the History of the Church during the Fourth and Fifth Centuries.' This has been edited by Dr. Lock, the Warden of Keble College, with the help of Mr. Turner, of Magdalen, who was for some years Assistant Lecturer to Dr. Bright. It includes an excellent index, the work of the Rev. R. G. Fookes.

Dr. Bright edited the following works :—

1872. Eusebius' Ecclesiastical History.
1873. The Orations of St. Athanasius against the Arians.
1878. Socrates' Ecclesiastical History.
1880. Select Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine.
1881. Historical Writings of St. Athanasius.—Later Treatises of St. Athanasius, translated in the 'Library of the Fathers.'

He also left behind him :—

Three copies of the Quarto Greek Testament (editions of 1859, 1863, and 1887), with very large margins filled with his MS. notes ;

Sixty-two volumes, which he called his 'Sylva,' full of his notes on various subjects, theological and historical, all duly numbered and indexed. These, with the above-mentioned copies of the Greek Testament, are now preserved in Keble College.

A small quarto volume, 293 pages, of 'Oxford Reminiscences,' from April 12, 1862, to June 1, 1887. This volume contains notes, evidently made at the time, of sermons he had heard, conversations with Oxford residents, incidents of special interest, impressions of the religious condition of Oxford, etc.

I

Interpretation of Holy Scripture

To the Rev. ——, on Old Testament criticism.

January 29, 1894.

On this urgent question [of Old Testament criticism] I feel most keenly that the point of cleavage—the crucial question—lies just where you have stated it. It is *not* whether you think that this or that book was written by its alleged author, or how much was added to the properly Mosaic legislation, or what statements on matters not affecting the great purpose of the Old Testament were allowed to be made, in conformity to current tradition, *but* whether you do, or do not, proceed on, or accept, premisses which deny the supernatural.[1]

To the Rev. ——, in reply to an inquiry about the different types of apostolic doctrine.

Christ Church, Oxford,
August 2, 1870.

I think you might consult the sixth of Canon Liddon's *Bampton Lectures;* and also Schaff's

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *The Law of Faith*, p. 338.

History of the Christian Church,[1] and Pressensé's *Trois Premiers Siècles*, vol. ii., p. 103, 'Unité fondamentale dans la diversité,' where he discusses the question, 'Were the different types of Apostolic doctrine contradictory?' which, he says, is 'the great theological debate of our time.'[2] I may add that in Newman's [*Parochial*] *Sermons*, vol. ii., p. 190, the question is referred to.

To the Rev. ——, on St. Jerome; and on St. James and St. Paul.

OXFORD,
May 16, 1865.

You would, of course, be shocked at the roughness and bitterness of Jerome. I confess I set it down, a good deal, to his monastic zeal, which was well-nigh fanatical; partly, also, to a natural acerbity of temper. He *is* an unloveable character. One admires him for his self-denial and his industry, but I consider him a saint only in a very modified sense.

* * * * *

Liddon began his lectures on St. James on Sunday night. There were ninety-five listeners in Queen's Hall, and some of our friends, generally attendants on his lectures, were not present. He told us how essentially different the πίστις spoken of by St. James was from that to which St. Paul ascribes justification—*i.e.*, it was

[1] Vol. i., pp. 209 *sqq.* (ed. 1882).
[2] P. 103 (2nd ed., 1870).

'an act of the intellect accepting the Christian revelation.' That is, as I have always thought, it was the γνῶσις of truth which is spoken of as good and necessary, but not sufficient *per se*, in 1 Cor. viii.

To the Rev. Canon Medd, on 1 *Cor. iii.* 10-15.

ARMTHORPE RECTORY, DONCASTER,
August 2, [? 1880].

I have not read every word of Dr. Pusey's book,[1] and only about half of Dean Goulburn's.[2] But on one point I cannot follow the Doctor—I mean as to the sense of 1 Cor. iii. 12. I cannot think that 'the day' can be the day of death,[3] or anything than the great Day of Judgment, with which elsewhere St. Paul pointedly associates the idea of 'fire,' but certainly for the purpose of punishment. In 1 Cor. iii. the 'fire' seems to have for its object, not the purification of flaws or stains, but the testing of the true value of the thing to which it is applied. It is essential to Dr. Pusey's theory that St. Paul should be, in effect, speaking of a purgative process of suffering carried on in the intermediate state. In other words, he is essentially in accord with the Roman interpretation; he, like the Roman Catholics, puts a purgatorial sense on the context. I think that this is (1) inconsistent with the natural meaning of 'the day;' (2) out of

[1] *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?*
[2] *Everlasting Punishment.*
[3] *What is of Faith, etc.*, p. 111.

harmony with the scope and purpose of the context, which refers to a Divine examination, at the Judgment, of the building-work—whatever that may mean, whether it be or be not restricted to the case of teachers—which has been carried out in this world. Dr Pusey argued, in a letter to me, that if 'the day' were to be understood as the day of doom itself, then the redeemed souls in the intermediate state would have the terrible anticipation of 'intense suffering' at the day of doom. This implies that it is the souls, not the superstructure which each has raised, to which 'the fire' is to be applied, whereas St. Paul distinctly connects 'the fire' with the 'work.' True, the builder of 'hay' and 'stubble' is to be 'saved, yet so as through fire.' But this, to me, suggests the notion, not of an intensely torturing and definitely penal and purgative infliction, but of a narrow escape, as of one who flies from a burning house and comes out safe. It is remarkable that in Isa. xliii. 2 the possibility of passing through the fire without being one's self burned is clearly set forth. I cannot, therefore, on this general survey of the passage, accept Dr. Pusey's interpretation, which he seems to consider as the only 'honest'[1] one possible. To me it is an introduction of foreign matter into St. Paul's teaching. Nor do I feel at all sure that it is exegetically necessary or natural to extend the scope of his words beyond the case of teachers.[2]

On another point, the sense of 'so in Christ

[1] *What is of Faith, etc.*, p. 108.
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 108, 109.

shall all be made alive,' I think Goulburn's interpretation[1] less natural than Pusey's.[2]

I go home on Wednesday. Here I write without either book at hand.

To the Rev. J. G. Adderley, on his article Is there a social Gospel?[3]

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 11, 1899.

I have read your article, and I agree with the larger part of it; in fact, my non-agreement refers to certain details. Very much that you say as to the duties of Christians, and especially of Churchmen, is matter-of-course truth, although unhappily not matter-of-course practice. And although at some points of the paper, where the faults of the 'well-to-do' are referred to and their obligations emphasized, I wished to see the balance held straighter—that is, to see a reference to the faults or obligations of the 'masses'—that defect is at least partially made up in the last column, where you speak of the shortcomings of the 'labour party' from a Christian point of view. Yet even there you do not speak of the masses, but only of their chosen 'leaders.' But let that pass. I do agree there with much that you say. Where, then, do I differ from you?

Well, I do not quite like the extension of the New Testament word *Gospel*, in the scope which

[1] *Everlasting Punishment*, p. 114, *n.*
[2] *What is of Faith, etc.*, p. 37.
[3] *Looking Upward*, pp. 71 *sqq.*

your article gives to it. Social justice is excellent, is to be aimed at, to be striven for; but it is an application, not properly a part, of the idea of the Gospel as held by St. Paul. Philanthropy in all its branches—equitable conduct between employer and employed, due provision for health, for education, for social advancement—on all these things a blessing may rest. But there is such a disposition among the English people to a modernized Pelagianism, to a substitution of 'natural' for 'supernatural good,' that I, for my part, shrink from language which—if addressed to a people impressed with the supernatural idea, so to speak—might be safe from all misconstruction, but is not thus safe when addressed to English ears.

At any rate, I am disposed to say, Let us distinguish between the essential thing itself, which operates in the spiritual area, and those legitimate inferences from it which may show that 'godliness has,' in a sense, 'the promise of the life that now is as well as of that which is to come.' Let us rigorously observe proportion and sequence in our insistence on such matters.

Again (or, rather, as a consequence), I should, for myself, distinguish very heedfully and habitually between the kingdom of God and an improved or moralized society, and this the more because a substitution of 'the nation in a religious aspect' for 'the Church,' is precisely that form of Erastianism which suits the political temper of the day. Your analogy between the Jewish Church-State and Christian society in England fails, because the social life of a modern nation is not

theocratic in that sense: the Jewish system was a unique fact, not to recur in history. The Christianization of society, I hold, is to be effected by the diffusion of Christian motives and beliefs among individual members of the body politic. The Apocalyptic vision is not the vision of a perfect State, but of the aggregate of redeemed souls; the State is wholly out of its purview. I do not say this as disparaging national life or society, but they are of the earth, and will have no place in heaven.

So, again, when you say that 'love, justice, liberty, brotherhood,' are simply 'the foundation truths which Jesus taught,' I am obliged very deliberately to deny it. To say that they are is, I fear, to give great occasion to those who would patronize our Lord if He could be taken as a great social reformer, apart from supernatural claims or a revelation of Spiritual truth. The confusion between what He came expressly to do and to teach, and what applications may be made of His teaching and action in the direction of social reform, is, in my opinion, serious; and I fear that some of your language will (unintentionally, I trust) encourage it, especially when you go so far as to explain 'the light which lighteth every man,'[1] etc., by such an inadequate gloss as 'the way out of social distress.' Surely *this* is not to do justice to the thought which filled the soul of St. John!

Perhaps, also, you hardly make sufficient allowance, in your stringent censure of the Church of

[1] John i. 9.

England on the score of her inactivity in certain departments of social work, for the vastness and arduousness of the properly spiritual work which is, and must be, her primary vocation. Again, you say that the principle of 'the equality of men' as taught by Socialists (I don't know why you object to that title) is a distinctively 'Christian principle.' Surely this is not so, except as Christians assert it with its Christian basis, its explicitly religious or theological idea. In itself it is not only not Christian, but not true, and you yourself practically admit this, when you say that 'no plan for social reform will succeed without such moral force as Christianity proposes to supply.'

But yet again, are you not a good bit too absolute, and too little mindful of necessary qualifications (a common tendency, let me suggest, of young men on fire with a single-hearted moral enthusiasm), when you suggest that the Church of England is found generally opposing the principle of the duties of property? Is this a just judgment? Is it a true testimony? Is there not just now a strong temptation to echo the complaints of outsiders against our own order, to heap blame on those clergy or laymen who do not agree with a certain political programme, and to identify Radicalism with the service of Christ? And is there no permanent significance in the old principle of Exodus, 'Thou shalt not countenance a poor man in his cause,'[1] or, still more, in our Lord's own question, 'Who made Me a judge or a divider?'[2] These are my impressions, roughly stated.

[1] Exod. xxiii. 3. [2] Luke xii. 14.

To the Rev. Canon Gore, on Divorce.

BRIGHTON,
April 19, 1895.

I am afraid I cannot resist the logic of the Bishop's letter.

What did our Lord mean by 'putting away'? The word in the Greek[1] is hardly well rendered by such a phrase; it strictly indicates a 'release' from matrimonial obligations.

1. Did He mean only a separation, *a mensa et toro?* or did He mean a divorce proper? Surely the question is needless. There can be no serious doubt that He means the latter.

2. Therefore (assuming that πορνεία in the two passages before us means adultery, not prenuptial unchastity on the woman's part, a theory, I need not say, unknown to the Fathers) in the one case —in the one only case—of the wife's unfaithfulness (not in the case of the husband's), divorce proper is allowed by our Lord.

3. But divorce proper means the dissolution of the *vinculum*.

4. And if the *vinculum* is dissolved on one side, it is dissolved on both sides. The husband ceases to be husband, and the wife ceases, not less, to be wife.

5. Therefore (does it not follow?) the wife, being by such divorce reduced to the condition of a single woman, commits no new or fuller act of adultery by marrying someone else.

[1] ὃς ἂν ἀπολύσῃ τὴν γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ (Matt. xix. 9).

It may well be deemed a wrong act on her part, perhaps an imprudent act; but it need not be so in all cases. Personally, I think the Church law might very reasonably forbid such marriages, on the ground that the sin which has incurred divorce ought to be followed by perpetual celibacy, as a sort of due penance. But I know not how, on the ground above stated, such a marriage could be called adulterous. If it is, then there has been no real divorce; she is still the wife of the husband who has separated himself from her; whereas the just interpretation of our Lord's words implies, as I believe, that he has 'put her away' in such sense as to be absolutely released from the obligation of a husband, which involves her release from the obligations of a wife.

Our primary duty is, I think, to secure this just interpretation. Consequences may, and must, be left in His hands Whose words we are interpreting.

P.S.—I return home to-morrow. What thanks we owe to the Bishop of Hereford for his words *re* the Armenians! A disposition to question even the substantial truth of the reports of massacres among the Armenians is, I suppose, one of the mischievous survivals of Disraeli's 'Peace with Honour' policy. I am, as you know, Conservative, but I detest the pro-Turkish animus which he confirmed among the members of the party. I suppose it existed before, it was part of a Governmental tradition; the Turk must be borne with, kept on his feet, propped up if he were

tottering, and all his vileness as a sovereign power over Christians minimized or ignored (with a persistent closing of eyes and ears when necessary), lest Russia should profit by his fall and our Indian dominions be endangered. Such a policy seems to me obviously immoral, ever apart from our sympathy with suffering fellow-Christians. I trust that Mr. Gladstone's voice will again be heard, so as to put wholesome pressure on the Government. Of all wilful fictions and transparent shams, is any one grosser than the pretence of trusting the Turk's word?

To the same, on the same subject.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
April 22, 1895.

Thank you: I shall be most glad to see you when you are again at Radley in the beginning of next month.

Yes, I feared that I might 'surprise' you, although in your Abbey addresses you grant the position that (1) the interpretation put on *πορνεία* by Döllinger, and Liddon after him, is unsatisfactory,[1] as it is most certainly unpatristic; and (2) that in one case, that of the wife's unfaithfulness, real divorce is (not enjoined, but) permitted by our Lord.

Other friends of mine, such as the Bishop of Reading, do not grant so much, and I am afraid that to them I am proportionately more of a

[1] Gore, *Sermon on the Mount*, p. 71, and app. iii., p. 215.

'scandal.' But I cannot help it. I am deeply convinced that the view current among the clergy, derived from the Canon Law which we took over, so to speak, from the pre-Reformation authorities, will not stand as a fair interpretation of our Lord's words, and that to tamper with, or explain away, the natural import of those words, in the supposed interest of social morality, is to incur a responsibility of such gravity as cleaves to all 'will-worship.'[1]

I am convinced that the Canon Law doctrine does not rest on Catholic consent, and, in confronting it with the unstrained interpretation of the two texts in St. Matthew,[2] I am, I believe, pursuing a parallel course to that which you so reasonably indicated, with reference to De Lugo's (or other 'scholastic and later dogmatic theologians')[3] *a priori* speculations as to what an Incarnation must have involved.

But I repeat that the dissolution of marriage is only allowed by our Lord in case of the wife's unfaithfulness, and if a wife now obtains in our courts a 'divorce' from an unfaithful husband, and thereupon marries somebody else, it seems to me undeniable that such a union is adulterous. It is not hard to see why such a distinction should be made, and it does not conflict with the fact that in God's sight the sin is alike in either party, although the husband's sin does not affect family life as the wife's does.

[1] Col. ii. 23. [2] Matt. v. 32, xix. 9.
[3] Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, p. 151 (ed. 1891).

[The following letter was sent by the Archdeacon of Quebec to the *Montreal Gazette* to introduce to its columns the two appended letters which Dr. Bright had addressed to him].

September 14, 1901.

I send you herewith two letters received some time since from the late Rev. Canon Bright, of Christ Church, Oxford, on a question which then was, and still is, a burning question in the Church of England—the question of marriage and divorce. As this question is to be brought under the consideration of the Provincial Synod again, I think it of great importance that the Synod should have the opportunity of reading and considering the last utterance upon this difficult question of the greatest theologian of his time in our Church. You will oblige me, and confer a great benefit upon the Church in Canada, if you will print them in your issue. Though private and personal, they are of a character that makes their publication at this time not only proper, but most important.

Henry Roe, D.D.

Dr. Bright's First Letter.

Christ Church, Oxford,
May 8, 1895.

Dear Mr. Archdeacon,

I learned from the Bishop of Quebec that you were so good as to wish for my opinion on the matter of marriage after divorce, and intended to write to me accordingly. I have received

your pamphlet[1] with the Report of the joint committee of your Provincial Synod of 1892, and perhaps I shall best meet your desire if I proceed at once to comment first on that Report.

And, first, I cannot but observe what, with all respect to the authors, I must regard as a preconception impelling them to look out for some way of nullifying the two excepting clauses in St. Matthew's report of our Lord's words. The ordinary rule, surely, would be that when our Lord is reported four times[2] as laying down a law, twice with an exception and twice without it, the exception in the first two cases is to be read into the last two. We apply this method in the construction of legal provisions and of Prayer-Book rubrics. It is the method of common-sense interpretation. The particular governs or limits the general; the fuller statement fills out the briefer.

But such a method is inconvenient with a view to the preconception that, somehow or other, Christ's words must mean what does not conflict with existing Western Canon Law; therefore the method has in this case to be put aside, and, as the Report frankly says, to be 'avoided.' How? By disintegrating the New Testament on a chronological principle with the effect of assuming

[1] *The right of the innocent party, after a divorce for adultery, to marry again while the other partner is living* (Quebec, 1892). This was a supplement to the Minority Report of the committee of the Provincial Synod, of which minority the author was chairman. The Majority and Minority Reports on the question of Divorce and Remarriage may be seen in the *Journal of the Provincial Synod of Canada*, 1892.

[2] Matt. v. 32, xix. 3-9; Mark x. 2-12; Luke xvi. 18.

that the excepting clauses were to become void after the destruction of Jerusalem. Why? Because it is assumed that not till then was 'the full message of forgiveness of sins'[1] realized (if I rightly understand a very brief and obscure clause).

How far will this carry us? What crime may not be condoned on such a principle? Did the death on the cross mean that adultery was to go unpunished under Christ's law after A.D. 70? Surely this is a line of interpretation at once arbitrary in itself, and capable of being used in the interest of rationalism?

But further, in this same page, Matt. xix. 3 is said to be Christ's explanation of Deut. xxiv. 1 to the Pharisees, as distinct from His injunction in private to the disciples in Mark x. 11. On this showing our Lord uttered the words containing the excepting clause publicly to the Pharisees, and then the same words minus that clause in private to the disciples. Let anyone believe that who can. I cannot.

Of the four Pauline passages quoted, not one is relevant—not one contravenes the exception. I am, indeed, astonished that 1 Thess. iv. 3 should have been adduced at all. It never even hints at the question of divorce.

1 Cor. vii. 10 forbids, not divorce for adultery, but separations through quarrels, as is clear from verse 11.

Rom. vii. 2, 3 states the general principle, and

[1] Bishop Kingdon, *Divorce and Remarriage*, p. 21. This pamphlet represents the views of the Majority Report of the above committee, of which majority the Bishop was chairman.

does not help the object of the Report, unless an exception is held to destroy a rule, or a rule stated generally to exclude all exceptions.

Eph. v. 23 would prove too much, for it would mean that the conjugal union cannot be severed, even by death, and, therefore, that second marriage is as Montanists held on that principle forbidden to Christians.

But, lastly, as to the canon proposed on p. 11 of the Report, I observe:

1. That it implicitly excludes Döllinger's[1] and Dr. Liddon's[2] interpretation—which Dean Luckock[3] would apparently like to adopt if he could feel sure of it—that πορνεία, in the excepting clauses, means prenuptial unchastity on the woman's part discovered after marriage, and treated as nullifying the marriage *ab initio*. For if the Report favoured or admitted that view, it would recognise such as 'antecedent impediment.'

2. With astounding inconsistency, not to say with astounding boldness, in the treatment of Christ's own words, as interpreted in a previous page, the Report proposes that, by canon, an individual Bishop should be allowed to treat that as not adultery which Christ, by hypothesis, pronounced to be so. For the Report distinctly affirms that, the exception having come to an end with the fall of the Temple, all divorce, properly so called, is unlawful, and all marriage after divorce

[1] *The First Age of the Church*, app. iii., p. 424 (tr. Oxenham, 2nd ed., 1867).

[2] *University Sermons*, vol. ii., p. 310, n. 3, and pp. 327 *sqq.* (4th ed., 1887).

[3] *The History of Marriage*, pp. 60 *sqq.*

is adultery. And in the face of this any Bishop is to be free to admit such adulterous person to Holy Communion and to all 'the other ministrations of the Church'! I confess that I should have thought this, beforehand, quite incredible.

The advocates of entire indissolubility of marriage are constrained to explain away, or to 'wrest' those passages of Fathers or Councils which show, to say the least, that there is no Catholic consensus in their favour. Especially unfair, I think, is their treatment of Origen and of Basil (I have said something about Basil in a long letter to the *Guardian*,[1] and you doubtless have seen Dr. Reynolds' pamphlet[2] on Origen, which even the *Church Quarterly* reviewer of April[3] commends, though he differs from it). Basil[4] is signally misinterpreted; Lactantius[5] is simply abused; the Council of Arles[6] is put under a screw; Tertullian's language in *Adv. Marcionem*[7] is ignored or twisted; Chrysostom[8] is not fairly

[1] Feb. 6, 1895, *cf.* Feb. 20, 1895.

[2] H. W. R. Reynolds, *Origen and the York Report on Divorce* (1895).

[3] *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xl., No. 79, April, 1895.

[4] Basil, *Moralia*, Reg. 73 (*Opera*, tom. ii., p. 308, ed. Ben.), and Ep. ccxvii., Canon 77, where note the comment of the Benedictine editors regretting that Basil came to think that a man might remarry, after divorcing a faithless wife (*Opera*, tom. iii., p. 329, note *a.*).

[5] *Div. Inst.*, vi., § 23 (*ap.* Migne, *P.L.*, tom. vi., col. 720B.), and *Epitome*, § 66 (*ibid.*, col. 1080B.).

[6] Canon 10; Hefele, *Councils*, i., p. 189.

[7] *Adv. Marcionem*, iv., c. 34 (ed. Oehler, ii., p. 247).

[8] *In* 1 *ad Cor. Hom.*, xix., § 3 (*Opera*, tom. x., p. 162B., ed. Ben.), and *In Matt. Hom.*, xvii., § 4 (tom. vii., p. 228A.).

faced. I need not (least of all in writing to you) mention other cases. You have brought out the fact, which needs to be insisted on, that the present Canon Law doctrine virtually runs up into the authority of Jerome[1] and Augustine,[2] not to say of Pope Innocent[3]—of Jerome, who had the strongest bias in favour of any restrictions of marriage; of Augustine, whose comment on the passage in the Sermon on the Mount[4] exhibits an extraordinary incoherence and laxity, and whose 'Retractations' very seriously modify the force of his earlier assertions on a *difficillima quæstio*.[5] Multiplying canonical prohibitions in the later and mediæval Western Church does not really increase the moral weight of the restrictive view, when one recollects how dominant in the West for long ages—both deservedly and undeservedly dominant—was the *venerabile nomen Augustini*. And I do not think that those who appeal to patristic or conciliar authorities on the restrictive side have always remembered that the appeal debars them from treating the excepting clauses as merely temporary in their bearing, for the reason involved in Döllinger's view. The ancient Church never took or seemed aware of that view. It was taken for granted that Christians, as such, were concerned with the clauses.

No doubt it is not merely from a Canon Law point of view that the absolute indissolubility is

[1] Roe, *The right, etc.*, p. 21.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 23. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 23.
[4] *De Serm. Dom. in Monte*, i., cc. 14-16 (*Opera*, tom. iii., pars ii., coll. 181 *sqq.*; ed. Ben.).
[5] *Retract.*, ii., c. 57 (tom. i., col. 61C).

maintained; that is, the motive underlying the zeal for Canon Law on this point is a fear of danger to morality, especially in view of the pernicious facilities of divorce in the United States and in some Protestant countries of Europe. Keble was likely enough to be most strongly swayed by this motive. Yet I feel, for my part, that our primary duty in this case is not to consider consequences, but to secure a legitimate and unstrained interpretation of our Lord's own words. That is a matter of supreme obligation. If we fulfil this duty loyally, we may remember that Christian morality will not be injured by such faithfulness. He may be trusted to provide for it. But our business is to be true to His own teaching, and not to explain it away.

Now, there are two questions about the passage in question. (1) What does ἀπολύω mean? (2) What does πορνεία mean?

To take the second first, the universal interpretation in the Church has construed πορνεία here as conjugal unfaithfulness; and those who insist that it shall mean prenuptial unchastity, and who would illustrate, not the word, indeed, but their construction by Matt. i. 19, will by parity of reason have to exclude fornication from the purview of the seventh commandment as rendered in Matt. v. 27, 28 (shortly before the first excepting clause).

Putting aside, then, this expedient of Döllinger's to prop up the Roman maxim as to total indissolubility, let us ask the first question. I observe that the *Church Quarterly* reviewer, in his exceedingly slippery and evasive comment on

Christ's words, slides in the word 'separation.'[1] Did our Lord mean only separation—*i.e.*, what we call separation *a mensa et toro?* Impossible, for the Jews did not care about that. Their point was, May a man divorce his wife so as to dissolve his marriage with her? And, again, if we read ἀπολύω as equivalent to 'separate,' in the sense of 'no longer allowing the wife to live with the husband'—suspending conjugal life, and dwelling apart—what follows? That such separation is only allowed by Christ, because of πορνεία, which implies that both ecclesiastical and civil law are wrong in allowing it for other causes. Again, ἀπολύω of itself suggests the idea of unloosing a bond—that is, of divorce proper. If such divorce, then, takes place, the *vinculum* is dissolved, and remarriage becomes lawful *ipso facto*. For the bond cannot be at the same time binding and not binding.

I know that here comes in the difficulty. On this showing, the divorced wife, if divorced for her adultery, has ceased to be a wife. She is, therefore, free to marry again. And I do not see, I confess, how it can be maintained, that such marriage on her part, in those special circumstances, would be adulterous. But the Church might reasonably refuse her blessing to such a contract by way of inflicting a just penalty on sin and avoiding a grave scandal. However, I grant that, even so, there would be the question of the right of such parties to the Sacrament. Either the adulteress has been divorced or merely

[1] *Ch. Qu. Review*, April, 1895, p. 34.

'separated.' If she has been merely 'separated,' then the Jews asked our Lord about 'putting away' in one sense (real divorce), and He answered them in another (simple separation), which is not to be thought of. Even to put such a point contingently is offensive. If she has been really divorced—if the *vinculum* has been solemnly broken—then she is no man's wife, and may, so far, become the wife of some other man —her partner in sin, it may be, or some other. And if such marriage is contracted before a registrar, the Church refusing to bless it, still, on the above interpretation, the new union is a marriage, and the Church, in her administration of Sacraments, would not, so far as I can see, be justified in denying to it that character. You will pardon, Mr. Archdeacon, the length of this letter. I have thought I should best show my sense of the honour which you and the Bishop have done me by risking tediousness rather than the appearance of negligence.

P.S.—To avoid one possible misapprehension, I do not at all suppose that to divorce an unfaithful wife is made by Christ's words an absolute duty.

Dr. Bright's Second Letter.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
June 3, 1895.

MY DEAR MR. ARCHDEACON,

I thank you for the kind letter received two days ago. May I trouble you now with a

few more remarks? Since I wrote first, as you know, the scandal at a London church has brought the subject of divorce and remarriage before Convocation, and a good deal of correspondence in the *Guardian* has tended to confirm my previous impression that, in regard to the remarriage of an innocent husband after the divorce of a faithless wife (which is the point in debate), opinions are often wholly shaped by a preconception as determined as that which leads Roman controversialists to read Vaticanism into the language of the Fathers. Doubtless the preconception in the present case has a certain claim upon one's sympathy, inasmuch as its motive, so to speak, is anxiety for the purity of domestic life. Men who appeal confidently to the law of Christ and the Church as affirming the absolute indissolubility of marriage show by their words that what weighs most with them is a moral interest.

But, after all allowance made on that score, it remains true that to promote a moral interest by wresting the sacred words of our Lord Himself approaches nearer to 'will-worship' than to Christian fidelity.

As you yourself have shown, there is really no Catholic consensus in favour of this 'law of indissolubility.' To claim for it the authority of Fathers, who, following St. Mark and St. Luke (not to say St. Paul), state the rule without the exception, and to assume that they 'must have had some way' of getting rid of the natural sense of the excepting clauses in St. Matthew, is

altogether uncritical. Other ancient language, which recognises that exception, is sometimes very unfairly treated.

On the whole, I know of no writers before the end of the fourth century who deny the right of the injured husband, after divorcing a faithless wife, to marry again in her lifetime. And Jerome, of course, had a natural bias towards any restriction of marriage; while Augustine, at the end of his life, was dissatisfied with his own treatment of the question. And yet the law of the Latin Church, which we are required by some to regard as sacrosanct, runs up very much into the authority of Augustine.

But then we are referred to the Prayer-Book and the Canons. The Marriage Service, it is said, teaches that man must not 'put asunder' those 'whom God hath joined together.' Therefore, it asserts the absolute indissolubility.

It is prudent to avoid arguments that prove too much. For that same language might just as well be quoted as prohibiting any 'separation *a mensa et toro*,' for, *e.g.*, cruelty on a husband's part, which the 'indissolubilists' make no difficulty of calling lawful.

As for the passage in the beginning of the service about the symbolism derived from Eph. v. 25-32, it is dangerous to press an illustration beyond its defined aim, and St. Paul is clearly thinking of the husband's obligation to love and cherish a wife, who, like his own flesh, is his own as the Church is Christ's own, the faithful spouse. (Indeed, I could imagine a Montanistic rigorist

using this symbolism in order to prohibit all second marriages.)

Next as to the English Canons. Archdeacon Kaye, in the Lower House of Canterbury, pointed out with characteristic exactness that they do not pronounce divorce of a faithless wife and subsequent remarriage on the part of the husband to be a sinful act. They do not treat of the case at all; they simply presuppose the practice of ecclesiastical courts, and treat only (1) of dissolution of marriages on the ground of original nullity, and (2) of separation improperly called divorce, which separation, as they, of course, insist, leaves the parties still bound by their vow of conjugal fidelity.[1]

The real question, then, is, What do our Lord's words mean? And surely it is a matter of supreme obligation to interpret them fairly, not to pervert or explain them away. One might infer, from language often met with, that the speaker or writer would be intensely relieved if he could persuade himself that the two 'excepting clauses' are an interpolation into St. Matthew's text; but as no such discovery is to be hoped for, 'tolerable' or 'possible' interpretations are suggested as means of escape from their natural sense, which, it seems, must be somehow nullified. We are asked to interpret the two passages in St. Matthew which mention the exception by the two in St. Mark and St. Luke which omit it; which is as if one were asked to merge the special in the general, to attenuate the fuller into the briefer statement, to set at naught the common-sense

[1] Canons 105-107.

maxim that where in one composite law-book a rule is sometimes given with, and sometimes without, an exception, the former passage must interpret the latter, the exception must be read in as part of the rule, and the notion that they contradict each other must be simply dismissed. This maxim is clearly inapplicable to the case of the Gospels, except on a disintegrating assumption which critics of a very different school will treat as an instruction which they can easily better.

But we seem most likely to clear the ground by asking first, What does ἀπολύω mean in the four evangelical contexts taken throughout? It must mean one of two things—either (1) 'to divorce so as to dissolve the bond of the marriage,' or (2) 'to separate *a mensa et toro*.' But it cannot mean the latter, for the Jews had no interest in that question; and when on one occasion the Pharisees asked our Lord whether it was lawful to put away a wife for every cause, they clearly meant real divorcing, and our Lord, therefore, must have meant the same in His reply; and He showed as much by referring to the original institution of marriage as incompatible with their laxity about 'putting away' for all sorts of causes. Indeed, indissolubilists would be in a difficulty if they interpreted ἀπολύω here in the sense of mere separation, for on that showing He would be prohibiting separation except in the case of πορνεία, whereas they require it as lawful on other grounds. It follows, then, that He meant real divorce, and real divorce by hypothesis dissolves the *vinculum*.

His general rule, then—the exception may be

considered afterwards—comes to this: 'Divorce is not permissible; if (always reserving the exception) a man divorces his wife, he gives her occasion to become an adulteress by taking a new consort while she is really still his wife, the conjugal bond not being dissolved; and if he goes farther and marries another during her lifetime, he is actually an adulterer for a similar reason, she being still his wife and he being still bound to her.'

But now for the exception. Whatever πορνεία means, it is clear that in that excepted case ἀπολύω is implied, and, as so implied, bears the same sense: 'In one case I do not forbid you to divorce—that is, to annul the bond; in one case it is permissible to do what in all other cases is forbidden, and therefore sinful.'

And if it is permissible to divorce, it is permissible to marry another. We need not rest on the received text of Matt. xix. 9 to prove what is absolutely involved in the very idea of a true divorce. Now, what is that case? Döllinger's gloss of 'prenuptial unchastity' is clearly an expedient suggested by his difficulty as an interpreter of St. Matthew, accustomed to the Roman dogma of indissolubility. It is wholly unpatristic, for one thing; for another, it rests on a basis which can hardly be thought solid. The reference in Matt. i. 19 to a peculiar Jewish usage cannot be parallel with our Lord's language when He is correcting Jewish laxities and perpetuating the law of marriage for His Church; and the 'strict sense' of πορνεία is a questionable ground to occupy, for then the strict sense of

μοιχεύω might be used to exclude all non-adulterous unchastity from the ban of the seventh commandment, as it is quoted and expanded in the very paragraph which contains the first excepting clause (Matt. v. 27, 28).

No doubt it will be objected: 'On this showing the guilty wife, by divorce, ceases to be a wife, as the injured divorcer ceases to be her husband. She is therefore free to marry again, and thus any departure from the principle of absolute indissolubility is bound to open the door to persistent scandals.' I admit that if an innocent husband divorces a guilty wife, then, whether he marries another or not, she ceases to be his wife, for a bond broken on one side must be broken on both; it ceases to exist for either party. But it would be a profanation of the blessing of the Church to sanctify a union which she may wish to contract with the partner of her sin. Although such union is not *per se* adulterous, yet it is scandalous that the parties should thus profit by their sin, as the Bishop of London phrased it. Surely, if penitent, their penance should be to live apart.

To the Editor of The Guardian *on Divorce and Remarriage.*

June 26, 1895.

It seems high time that someone should say a word in deprecation of the positiveness with which some clergymen . . . describe 'the *absolute* indissolubility of marriage' during the lifetime of both parties, not only as 'the law of the Church of

England,' not only as 'the law of the Church' *simpliciter*, but as 'the law of Christ' and 'of God.' Have they, one asks, in all cases, personally verified an assertion which, at any rate, involves a great responsibility? Or does it, in some cases, pass as it were from hand to hand, as 'the right thing for a good Churchman to say,' as demanded alike by Christian 'strictness' and by ecclesiastical obligation?

On the ecclesiastical side of the question, I think I have already shown that there is no Catholic consensus for the proposition, and I will add that it seems to have become rooted in the Western Church's mind (in regard to strictly *Christian* marriages) mainly through the vast authority of the greatest of Western Fathers. It was not apparently remembered, that in one of his works he admitted a certain 'obscurity' in 'the Divine sayings,' and that in reconsidering another[1] he did not feel satisfied with his own treatment of 'a very difficult question.'[2] . . However, there is no question that the dogma thus established in the Latin Church did govern the action of English ecclesiastical courts, and the Canons of 1604 recognise that action by providing for (1) the 'annulling of pretended matrimony,'[3] (2) divorce in the lax sense of judicial 'separation *a toro et mensa*,'[4] in which case they, of course, require that the parties to be separated shall continue to respect their conjugal bond.[5] But it is at least ob-

[1] *De conjugiis adulterinis* (*Opera*, tom. vi., coll. 387 *sqq.*).
[2] *Retract.*, ii. 57 (tom. i., col. 61C).
[3] Canon 106. [4] *Ibid.* [5] Canon 107.

servable that the Canons do not expressly prohibit divorce *a vinculo* for the unfaithfulness of the wife.

Then we have confident appeals to the Marriage Service. But, first, its language forbidding the 'putting asunder by man' of 'those whom God hath joined together' (and the like) cannot be quoted against divorce *a vinculo* for that offence, until it is proved that the Divine prohibition for divorce does not provide for any exception; and, secondly, the words might also be strained to bar all possibility of 'judicial' separation—*e.g.*, for a husband's habitual cruelty, which is allowed on all hands to warrant it. Eager writers will do well to avoid proving too much. . . .

But the heart of the matter lies in our Lord's own words. This point has to be pressed when the view of so many is, to all appearance, determined by the dread of consequences to public morality, and by abhorrence of such laxity as prevails in some foreign countries. Everyone must sympathize with such a feeling; and yet, after all, the supreme question for Christians is, What did Christ say, and what do His sayings mean? And if under the motive just referred to we do less than justice to the natural import of those sayings, if we twist, or slur over, or explain away any one of them, if we assume at the outset that a certain Canon Law principle is sacrosanct, and that Christ cannot have meant anything that contravenes it, our zeal for this or that ethical interest is, so far, 'not according to' religious loyalty.

It will be convenient to see, first, what we

should gather from the four Evangelical contexts,[1] *if* the two excepting clauses were absent from the text of St. Matthew—if they could critically be proved to be interpolations. Leaving them out of sight for a moment, we find that our Lord forbids His disciples to 'put away' their wives and to marry others after 'putting them away,' and in the second Gospel a woman is forbidden to 'put away' her husband and marry another. The verb which we render 'put away' is ἀπολύω. What is its force? Not, assuredly, 'to obtain a separation' (as our law calls it), *a toro et mensa*. The Jews were not asking about that, nor could the hearers of the Sermon on the Mount imagine that our Lord was referring to anything of the kind. What was in question, and what our Lord must have been understood to be speaking about, was divorce *a vinculo*, as, indeed, the Greek verb significantly indicates—that sort of 'putting away' which dissolved the conjugal relation. . . . But what follows? A dissolution of the *vinculum*, if in any case lawful in Christ's judgment, would annul all mutual obligations of those who had thereby ceased to be husband and wife. The divorcing husband would *ipso facto* be free to contract a new marriage, for he could not be at once released and bound. This, then, is the 'putting away' which, in our Lord's exposition of the true idea of marriage, is prohibited with one exception; and therefore it is this, and nothing else, which in that one excepted case (whatever it means) is not prohibited. . . . 'Except for one cause,' our

[1] Matt. v. 31, 32, xix. 3-9; Mark x. 2-12; Luke xvi. 18.

Lord says in effect, 'I forbid it; when that one cause exists, I do not forbid it.'

An attempt is sometimes made by sliding in the word 'separation' when the exception is spoken of, to make ἀπολύω mean one thing in the rule and another in the exception; but this is a quibble which needs no exposure. And now let us try to look into the excepting clauses. . . . There must, it is assumed, be some 'possible' or 'tolerable' way of making them cohere with the maxim, which at all costs is to be inviolate. We are to 'interpret them by the simpler sayings of St. Mark and St. Luke.' How is this to be done? If the same law-book contains two directions which state a rule with an exception, and two others which state the same rule without an exception, would not any lawyer tell us—would not common-sense and ordinary rules of construction tell us—to interrupt the general statement by the special, to read the fuller into the briefer? To deny that the Gospels have such a unity would be a very broad step in the line of disintegration! Or if, on the other hand, by way of emphasizing that unity, we are warned to beware of making St. Matthew 'contradict' St. Mark and St. Luke, that is like saying that to admit an exception is to 'contradict' a general rule. But an expedient has been devised or adopted by writers deserving of the highest respect (including one whose name is specially dear to memory), but whose support of it is, I venture to think, best accounted for by a very strong bias derived from Western Canon Law and from a horror of all 'relaxation.' This is the gloss

which sets the clauses aside as mere side-references to a usage purely Jewish, and therefore purely temporary, according to which a wife's prenuptial unchastity, discovered after marriage, was a ground, not for dissolving the *vinculum*, but for treating it as non-existent, as null *ab initio*. If, then, this sense can be put upon the clauses, they can be explained as not coming into collision with the dogma of absolute indissolubility. Q.E.F. And reasons are adduced: The clauses occur in St. Matthew, the Gospel for Hebrew Christians, and it is in Matt. i. 19 that this Jewish usage is noticed. But there is no true parallelism between such a notice and the passages in this Gospel in which our Lord is giving laws for members of His kingdom, or recalling His hearers from Jewish interpretations to the original, authentic marriage-principle. It is in these passages that St. Matthew's text exhibits the excepting clauses, and the onus clearly lies with those who would deprive them of permanent significance. Or we are told that to interpret *πορνεία* as adultery on the wife's part is to pervert the word from its 'proper force'—a contention peculiarly incautious, for the 'proper force' of *μοιχεύω* might just as well be used to take all unchastity on the part of unmarried persons clean out of the purview of the seventh commandment, as expounded by our Lord in the opening of that same paragraph which contains the first of the clauses in question (v. 31, 32). Finally, it might have been expected that High Churchmen would have hesitated to take up with an interpretation that was wholly unpatristic;

and this, no doubt, would have been the case but for one dominant preconception.

If this gloss, then, be disallowed, it remains that in one case, and in one case *only*, that of the wife's adultery, divorce *a vinculo* is not forbidden—is, at least, negatively permitted by Christ as the Lawgiver of Christians. I say 'in one case only,' for the excepting clauses are in both passages attached to the mention of what is generally forbidden to the husband; and we have no right to say that the same exceptional freedom is conceded to both sexes—that an injured wife may divorce a faithless husband. But may the divorcing husband contract a new marriage? If divorce *a vinculo* is meant, there is nothing to hinder him. What our Lord forbids in these passages He forbids on the ground of adultery. But if the *vinculum* is gone, the covenant which could be violated by adultery has ceased to exist. It is true that the words 'and shall marry another' came after, not before, the words 'except for *πορνεία*';[1] but the Jews would understand that any permission to divorce carried with it a corresponding permission to remarry.

Of course it will instantly be objected: 'On this showing, when a faithless wife is divorced she ceases to be a wife, and therefore is as free to remarry as the divorcer, who has ceased to be a husband.' If an interpretation is sound, we cannot help its results. It does follow that such a remarriage is not, of itself, adulterous. But the Church will act with perfect consistency, and impose an appropriate spiritual penalty, by re-

[1] Matt. xix. 9.

fusing to hallow it with her benediction, and leaving those who are bent on contracting it to resort to the civil registrar.

To Rev. ——, *on* Lux Mundi *and the* Κένωσις.

[With a laudatory reference to an article in the current number of the *Church Quarterly Review* (October, 1891, on 'Our Lord's Knowledge as Man.']

November 11, 1891.

. . . One must be careful about the use of the phrase *communicatio idiomatum* (see Pearson[1]). Lutherans use it, or have used it, in the sense of an interchange of qualities between the two natures, which results in virtual Monophysitism. Personally I do not suppose that the Divine nature of Christ revealed to His human mind during His ministry all facts which by possibility could have been apprehended by it, but only those which were relevant to His mission. The writer of that article goes very fully and with great judgment, as I think, into the probable reason why the knowledge referred to in Mark xiii. 32 was not, so to speak, 'translated' from the purely Divine consciousness (if such a term may be used) into the human. . . .

This kenotic theory is taken up by many almost as *Pax vobiscum* was by a personage in

[1] *An Exposition of the Creed:* 'Nor is this union,' etc., p. 163; 'For it was no other person,' etc., p. 186 (p. 291 and p. 334, ed. Oxford, 1877). *Cf.* Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*, p. 130.

Ivanhoe.[1] They do not know its Lutheran genesis; they do not strictly question themselves as to what it was that, on their interpretation, our Lord 'emptied Himself'[2] of; they do not face the consequences of denying our Lord's infallibility in all the matter of His teaching.

To the Rev. J. J. Lias, on the Κένωσις.

[With regard to a quotation of words of his own in Mr. Lias' book *On the Nicene Creed*.]

What I meant was that by the mere fact of adopting human nature, of taking it into union with Himself, our Lord accepted the condition of acting in it under certain reserves or limitations.

A body such as man's could not be invested with omnipresence; a mind such as man's could not be other than intrinsically finite. You say that the Divine prerogatives could not be exercised in their fulness in and through the manhood. That is exactly what I mean by saying that such unreserved exercise was incompatible with the acceptance of the limitations attaching to humanity. Our Lord, I hold, did not surrender or part with a single Divine prerogative. He could not, for His attributes are inseparable from His Divine Person. 'God's attributes,' as Newman says, 'are *He*.' But He did consent to forbear exercising them 'unreservedly' through the medium of the humanity which He assumed, because that medium would not admit of it.

[1] C. xxvi. [2] Phil. ii. 7.

To the Rev. Canon Medd, on the same.

November 17, 1892.

Thank you much for your letter. I was very anxious as to those passages in my book which refer to the Κένωσις. If you approve of them, that is reassuring. If you look at p. 333,[1] you will see that I adopt words 'better than my own.' They are the words of the Bishop (Stubbs) of Oxford. . . . I might have added that the argument from the creative act for the theory that there could be an actual laying-aside by the Divine Son, as such, of Divine attributes is sophistical. (I believe the theory is that only the Divine will would be strictly inalienable.) God, in creation and in His dealings with moral agents, does not part with His infinity or His omniscience; He does but place a purely voluntary restraint on his exercise of omnipotence for certain purposes, and while immanent in the universe which He has called into being, He is also independent of it in the sense intended by the word 'transcendent.'

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on our Lord's impeccability, and His knowledge as Man.

Christ Church, Oxford,
July 23, 1893.

I could not have answered your letter last week, for I had deferred too long the writing out of my

[1] *Morality in Doctrine.*

five lectures,[1] and was therefore hard at it preparing each in its turn, for the hour of its delivery.

It was very interesting to speak to a body of clergy on the great theological controversies of the Early Church. Yesterday I closed the short course with a lecture on Pelagianism. I had in one of the lectures spoken of our Lord's human nature as not only actually sinless, but impeccable. A clergyman of some standing came to me this morning to put the old difficulty, 'How, then, could our Lord be an example, and what is the significance of the temptation?' I tried to put into words the answer substantially given by Liddon, and by W. H. Hutchings in *The Mystery of the Temptation*. I pointed out that the three temptations appealed not to any interior concupiscence or propensity to actual sin, but to instinctive feelings *per se* innocent, and that, therefore, the question was for Him whether they could be gratified consistently with His mission; when His mind grasped the fact that they could not, it was impossible for Him, being the Incarnate, to desire their gratification in spite of His duty. It also occurred to me to say that, if an impeccable soul could not be an exemplar for us, a soul peccable, but which never had sinned, might also seem too far from our position to render us moral support; and that if a peccable Christ was to be a universal exemplar, He ought to have been susceptible not only of this sinful impulse, but of all sinful impulses congenial to all varieties of tem-

[1] Bright, *Waymarks in Church History*, cc. 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 8, which were given as lectures to the clergy at Oxford, July, 1893.

perament—a *reductio ad horrendum*. This must have often occurred to you, but I write it down because just now it is in my head, and I should naturally talk about it if I met you.

Like you, I do not go along with everything in Bishop Stubbs' Charge[1]—*e.g.*, I cannot (if I understand him aright) agree with him in interpreting Mark xiii. 32, as referring to our Lord's higher nature. But, indeed, I am not clear about the exact nature of his own view; and, so far as I see, I find an insuperable difficulty in supposing that our Lord's Divinity restrained the full influx of light into His human mind on some occasions, just as it left His human heart, so to speak, unsupported by the Divine beatitude in the Passion. There is in the Charge a vast deal of matter, an unfailing suggestiveness, and, of course, a spring of characteristic humour which carries one along.

To the Rev. ——, *on the* Κένωσις.

It may perhaps occur to you that there is a distinction recognised by Trench in his *Synonyms of the New Testament* between Θεότης, the Divine Essence or Godhead, and Θειότης, the sum of Divine attributes.[2] The former occurs in Col. ii. 9, the latter in Rom. i. 20, where the Revised Version renders it 'divinity.' But this distinction does not in the least imply that Θειότης could be parted with by One who retained Θεότης, which is Dr. ——'s contention. The more one thinks of it the more paradoxical does it seem. A line is

[1] *The Bishop of Oxford's Second Charge* (1893), pp. 18 *sq.*

[2] Pp. 6 *sqq.* (7th ed.).

drawn between God's attributes and Himself. A Divine Person is supposed to have been for, say, thirty-three years, not Almighty, not Omnipresent, not Omniscient, *quâ* Son of God—in fact, Divine after surrendering Divinity. For by hypothesis this surrender was absolute and total, extending to the whole of the Divine existence. One of the Trinity during this period was altogether without 'his eternal power' (Rom. i. 20) and His analogous perfections. What, then, would become of the indivisible 'co-inherence' or unity? Nor is this all. The human life of Christ is to be the measure of His power and His knowledge during His ministry on earth. He, therefore, while confessedly God, while possessing His 'Deity' as inalienable, would be in every sense, to all intents and purposes, inferior to the angels in those attributes. Was He then an object of adoration to the angels? If not, then how could He be God? If He was, then the angels adored One whom they themselves in those respects transcended. There is no end to the incongruities and contradictions which this exaggeration of Κένωσις is found to involve. It will act as a disintegrating force on faith in Christ.

To a candidate for Holy Orders, on the Atonement.

Christ Church,
November 28, 1895.

In regard to καταλλαγὴ in 2 Cor. v. 18-21, I don't think the antithesis, 'God is not to be recon-

ciled to us, but we only were to be reconciled to Him,' will suit the context. The very words μὴ λογιζόμενος κ.τ.λ. are, I think, decisive against it, and so are the following words, 'He made Him to be sin for us,' etc. The context, I mean, implies a twofold reconciliation, one *ex parte Dei* and another *ex parte hominis*. 'The ministry of reconciliation' was committed to St. Paul in order that he might announce God's pardoning love ἐν Χριστῷ, as well as that he might exhort and persuade men to lay aside their antagonism to God. In fact, if it is otherwise—if there was no barrier on God's part needing to be removed, and removed by Christ's death—then there is no mediation, for mediation implies a twofold reconciliation. Archbishop Trench contends for this in his *Synonyms of the New Testament*, ii. p. 275, observing that 'the Christian καταλλαγὴ has two sides': (1) whereby God 'laid aside His holy anger against our sins and received us into favour' through Christ's death (observe καταλλαγέντες, Rom. v. 10); and (2) 'subordinately the daily deposition of the enmity of the old man toward God.' So Dale on *The Atonement*, p. 262, and more fully in p. 492. Nor does this view, which exegetical considerations require, conflict at all with such passages as John iii. 16. The Divine attributes are not really a series of distinct things; they are aspects of one indivisible Divine character. God's holiness is one with His goodness, His hostility to evil is intrinsic and eternal; and when man sinned, that sin produced not a change in God's character, but a change in His relation to

man. In order to undo this change of relation, He provided, He initiated, the atonement which was effected by the death of His Son. That death, being the death of a Divine Person in our humanity, had an objective effect on our condition: it removed the barrier *ex parte Dei*, and restored sinners, as penitent and believing, to His grace. Thus it constituted for them a new relation with God. As long as they—that is, we—are penitent and believing, we have our part in this Divine atonement; when we sin we *pro tanto* impair our interest in it, and therefore need to ask pardon as well as to lay aside our own self-will.

P.S.—The passage which I quoted was not Pusey's own—perhaps I carelessly said it was—but is one of Faber's which Pusey approves in *What is of Faith as to Everlasting Punishment?*

'As to those who may be lost, I confidently believe that our Heavenly Father threw His arms round each created spirit, and looked it full in the face with bright eyes of love, in the darkness of its mortal life, and that of its own deliberate will it would not have Him.'[1]

To the Rev. ——, on a statement to the effect that Christ rose from the dead by His own power as God.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
November 26, 1889

The statement you quote cannot be heretical, because our Lord in the second lesson for this

[1] P. 17.

evening speaks of 'taking again' (John x. 17) His life by His own personal act. Elsewhere, also, we have such a phrase as 'He rose again' (Rom. xiv. 9). Indeed, we find our Lord predicting that He would 'raise up' (John ii. 19) the temple of His body. Only this sort of language must be balanced by other language more ordinarily used in the New Testament, especially by St. Paul, attributing the resurrection to the power or 'glory of the Father' (Rom. vi. 4), or simply saying that 'Christ was raised up' (Rom. iv. 25), as St. Peter also said in his early sermons (Acts iii. 15, etc.). There is no contradiction; the first kind of language represents our Lord's personal Divine power as the Eternal Son and Life-giving Word; the second may refer both to the eternal derivation of His Godhead as Son from the Father, and, more directly and obviously, to His position as the Son of Man. The harmony between these two classes of texts is pointed out by Bishop Pearson in his explanation of the article, 'The third day,' etc., and by Dr. Liddon in his *Easter Sermons*, vol. i., serm. 8. The passage in Pearson begins 'The efficient cause,' and goes on to 'that God the Son raised Himself.'[1]

[1] *An Exposition of the Creed*, Art. V., pp. 256 *sqq.* (p. 457, ed. Oxford, 1877).

II

Doctrine

To the Rev. ——, a candidate for Priest's Orders, on Apollinarianism, the Athanasian Creed, and the Proper Preface for Christmas.

University College,
April 7, 1865.

I have been over at Cuddesdon twice this week, and am going again to-morrow. I took Apollinarianism for my subject yesterday; to-morrow I shall take the great heresy—which, I suppose, arose by reaction from it—Nestorianism. I can't doubt that the Athanasian Creed was written by some Gallican Christian who had had experience of Apollinarianism as a practically serious mischief. Its language so precisely strikes at the two great points of the heresy—the denial of Christ's reasonable soul, and the revived Gnostic fancy that His body was part of the Godhead converted into flesh. It was the revival again of some such dream by the Anabaptists and Joan Bocher that made the Reformers frame the Proper Preface for Christmas. By-the-by, I think I forgot to mark (in that scheme of heresies which

I gave you) the Apollinarians as having been dealt with by the second General Council, inasmuch as it added to the Nicene Creed, as you may see from my history, the mention of the Virgin Mary as Christ's real and true mother.[1] Among the parts of my history which I think you would find useful, I may name the description of the various branches of Arianism.[2]

I can't at all wonder at your complaining of Pearson's arrangements. He is very ponderous, often clumsy; but sometimes his syllogistic clearness is admirable. The best passages are those on the One Person[3] and Two Natures of Christ.[4]

To the Rev. ——, *on the* Quicunque vult.

Shrove Tuesday [1872].

My own notion is that, if an explanatory clause be not accepted by Convocation, it would be not impossible for us to acquiesce in a modification of the monitory clauses—*i.e.*, in the omission of the second and last verses of the *Quicunque*, all the rest being retained.

To omit those which affirm the general principle of the necessity of right belief would, I think, be most fatal. To omit the two verses which speak, or seem to speak, so positively of the consequence in every case of a wrong belief would be, in my opinion, no disloyalty to the truth and

[1] Bright, *History of the Church*, p. 175 (4th ed.).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 68.
[3] Art. II., 'His only Son.'
[4] Art. III., 'Which was conceived.'

to our Lord, and might possibly meet the objections of some sensitive minds. I think at the same time that all the clauses can be explained.

To the Editor of The Guardian *on the Athanasian Creed.*

CHRIST CHURCH,
February 25, 1872.

In the coming debates on the Athanasian Creed, we may hope that one or two statements will be heard no more.

For instance, the assertion that our use of this formulary contravenes a decree of the Council of Ephesus. The statement was made, apparently, as an *argumentum ad hominem* in 1689, and Lord Macaulay in his *History*[1] gives it the advantage of one of his sonorous periods; it has been recently reproduced. But if we 'verify our references' by looking at the acts of the Council (Sixth Session, July 22, 431), we find that whereas some Lydian sectarians wishing to join the Church had been misled by a Nestorianizing Creed presented to them as that of the Church, the Council enacted that no one should be allowed 'to present or compose a different Creed' (ἑτέραν πίστιν) from the Nicene, 'and that to bring such Creed forward, or present it to persons desiring to come over to the knowledge of the truth,' should entail the heaviest censures[2] (Mansi, iv. 1361). A like

[1] C. xiv. (vol. ii., pp. 113 *sq.*, ed. 1877).

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *History*, pp. 337 *sq.*, and *Notes on the Canons*, pp. 115 *sqq.*

enactment against composing, teaching, or delivering a different *symbol* to such persons was made by the Council of Chalcedon, October 22, 451 (*ibid.*, vii. 116). These prohibitions, then, refer to Creeds other than the Nicene, presented to candidates for admission to the Church. But we do *not* so use the *Quicunque*. . . .

If we are told that the patristic passages usually cited as authorities for doctrinal statements in the *Quicunque* do not mean in the original what they mean in the formulary, this assertion ought to be proved point by point. . . .

The precise age of the *Quicunque* in its present complete form is not a matter of primary moment. Other great formularies, as the Apostles' Creed and the *Te Deum*, have grown. At the same time, the Bishop of Gloucester's advocacy of revised translation and further inquiry into manuscripts is a real service to the Church. And as to practical considerations: May not objectors to the 'clauses' be asked to say how far their objections extend? Do they, *e.g.*, object, not only to the second verse but to the first, to the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth as well as to the forty-second? Do they, in short, object to saying that 'it is necessary to everlasting salvation to believe rightly' as to the Trinity and the Incarnation of our Lord? Is it meant that right belief, where possible, is not among the Gospel terms of salvation? However, even as to verses 2 and 42, the sternest of the five 'clauses,' it is not so very hard to grasp the explanation that as no one can 'hold' or 'keep' what has not been given to

him, these clauses in the Athanasian Creed cannot apply to persons who have not had the right faith brought home to them.

And as to the proposal for banishing the *Quicunque* from our service, but retaining it with its doctrinal authority intact, side by side with the Articles, would it not be necessary in that case to recast the Eighth Article, seeing that 'Creeds' are meant to be used? When a doctrinal formulary has been publicly recited in church for more than three centuries, to silence it is *prima facie* to discredit it, and would be so understood by the people. Professions of respect for it, however sincerely made, would be less significant than the act which they would accompany. Something would have to be done by way of saving the authority of the silenced formula. And what would be done? Would not the next step be rather this: to admit that the *Quicunque*, even so retained, was objectionable, and to cast out altogether a document already virtually set aside? The gain would thus be with those who desire simply to abolish it.

The 'difficulties' said to inhere in its language, irrespectively of the 'clauses,' have been surely exaggerated. This Creed, so to call it, is meant for those who have received and really hold the faith of the Church, and who have the first claim to her consideration. Let any such persons say which of the doctrinal statements of the *Quicunque* appear to them superfluous or misleading. A few points will be fully appreciated by those only who know something of the history of controversies;

but, on the whole, this document, often hastily called a mere congeries of technical subtleties, will be found to speak very intelligibly to all who believe in One God in Three Persons, and in Jesus Christ both God and Man. . . .

On the same.

[In reply to a parish priest, who had consulted him on the difficulties of a faithful member of the Church.]

June 6, 1895.

Looking back to some memoranda of a few months back, I find myself remarking that in the second verse of the *Quicunque* the difficulty lies in the extreme stringency of 'without doubt.' It may be said that the case of one who falls away from the faith which he had received, and could therefore have 'kept,' may, in God's sight, admit of extenuating considerations which would put the case outside the scope of the denunciation. The affirmation that he will without doubt be lost will therefore not be verified. To affirm generally that it will is 'too much for a Church to say.' The answer is: 'Oh, but as in Scripture, so also in the formulary: you must presuppose a salvo to cover all such qualifying considerations, of which God will take equitable account.' Yet it may be rejoined that Scripture is Scripture, and we presuppose in reading it a good deal which its rule of general language does not express. But a formulary which professes to interpret Scripture ought not to require this presupposition; it ought to

express its salvoes and not to leave us to supply them.

Now, the ancients, including the compiler (or compilers) of the *Quicunque*, could not be expected to have the same sensitiveness as to the necessity, on a subject so awful, of providing intelligibly for a reserved case, of qualifying and balancing in order to shut out misapprehensions, which ages of controversy have instilled into modern Christianity. But this does not practically help us, when the formula in which these qualifications are omitted is proposed for public use among ourselves at the present time.

I can see nothing for it but to apply the verse rigorously as a warning to *ourselves*, who have had such full opportunities of appreciating the truth as would make us specially guilty in abandoning it. Still, I wish that verse could be omitted ; it does not seem to me analogous to 'Resist not evil' and 'Give to him that asketh thee,' with which Mozley compares it in his posthumous lectures.[1]

To the same, on the same subject.

June 8, 1895.

I do not feel the difficulty in quite so urgent a form as [some do], because I always suppose verse 2 to be a warning to those who, like myself, could hardly be capable of denying the Trinity or the Incarnation under any 'ignorance' or 'misapprehension'—who, in fact, would be sinning against amply sufficient light if they did so. In

[1] *Lectures and other Theological Papers*, p. 195.

principle, the difficulty would apply to a stringent affirmation in similar terms about theism; and *for us*, I conceive, it would be true that 'without doubt' we should forfeit salvation if we threw away faith in God. I still wish that the verse were otherwise worded. But I know that all our divines have interpreted it and the other clauses as addressed to those who have opportunity of knowing the truth, and not to those who have not.

It may also, perhaps, be suggested that, when Scripture makes an affirmation (such as that in St. John iii. 36 or viii. 24), we may say it is true, 'without doubt,' considering that Christ Himself is the speaker, and, so far, *absque dubio* is involved in all that we should say on Scripture warrant as to the necessity of true belief. (See Waterland's paraphrase.)[1] The matter, no doubt, wants a considerate judgment, such as many cannot, and some will not, give it.

What you tell me of —— is interesting. . . . I think you could easily make him understand that, as a Christian of the English Church, he is in no sense bound to the pestilent terrorism of the Calvinistic theory. No one was ever more emphatic than Dr. Pusey in proclaiming that no soul ever was or could be condemned by our Lord and by the Father until it had finally refused the Divine light and love; and that, if one looks to the portrait of Christ in the Gospels, one sees that statement verified in His lamentations over the perversity of the world which refused to let Him save it.

[1] *A Critical History of the Athanasian Creed*, c. x. (*Works*, iii., p. 231, 3rd ed., 1856).

Although I might wish that, in some congregations, we could use a shortened form of the *Quicunque*, I would rather a great deal have it said *in extenso* than omitted. For I am quite sure that its rhythmical utterances do stamp on the mind and memory a right conception of supremely momentous truths, both as to the three Divine Persons, and as to the relations of Godhead to Manhood in the Person of Christ, which no other formula could impress so powerfully, and which, once received and assimilated, are of literally incalculable value in preserving a true idea of the faith.

Correspondence relating to the Archbishop's Mission to the East Syrian Christians.

[Canon Maclean, head of the Mission, had said in his diary that he thought that, while the present East Syrians often used unorthodox language, they held in reality the faith taught at Ephesus and Chalcedon. 'Their forefathers erred,' he wrote, 'not so much in *doctrine* as in *schism*—in thinking themselves better than the whole of Christendom. On the other hand, immense allowance must be made for their isolated position in the extreme east of the Christian world, and, above all, for their want of an accurate language to express theological terms. Thus, for instance, they use abstract and concrete terms almost indiscriminately—such as "Godhead" and "God." This, I believe, lies at the root of their whole difficulty in accepting such phrases as "God died"; "God the Word was born"; "Mother of God"; and, in rejecting them, they are in danger of making two Christs—one, man who died, and one, God who did not die. Of course, we explain that by such phrases the Church intends to guard the truth that there is only one Christ—that thus the phrase "God the Word was born" means that "Christ was God when He was born." . . . All this the

present East Syrians thoroughly believe, and, indeed, insist on most strongly. But with them the phrases above quoted convey the idea that the *Godhead* was born, the *Godhead* died, or that St. Mary was Mother of the *Godhead*. Another difficulty arises from the word *Person*. They have no exact word for this. . . . They say that Christ has two natures (Kiâni) and two *Qnûmî* in one *Parṣôpa* (πρόσωπον), and what they mean by this they seem incapable of explaining. . . . Their more learned men say that they understand what is meant by the phrases quoted above, and that they guard against the error of two Christs; but they fear that, if they accepted those phrases, their people would fall into the error of Eutychianism.' Canon Maclean had then proceeded to discuss the historical question of their rejecting the Ephesine decrees.]

I.

To the Rev. Dr. Paget, Regius Professor of Pastoral Theology, Oxford.

[In reference to the above extract.]

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September 4, 1887.

I am very grateful to you for letting me see this most interesting extract from Canon Maclean's record of his conference with the Assyrian Matran,[1] who, presumably, may be taken to speak for all the authorities of his Church. It is, certainly, encouraging to those who desire to take as hopeful a view as possible of the doctrinal belief of this poor, long-oppressed community, which has for so many years held fast to 'the Name'[2] in the face of Moslem tyranny.

[1] Or, Metropolitan. [2] *Cf.* Acts v. 41; 1 Pet. iv. 14.

What, on the whole, is one to think? The mere negation of two Christs, the mere assertion of one Christ, would not be satisfactory in the circumstances, for the extant language of Nestorius informs us that he freely employed that negation and that assertion in his own sense. Although his words often came very nearly, if not quite, up to the point required by Christian orthodoxy, yet, on the whole, it seems certain that he never got beyond the idea of a moral, or honorary, 'union' —that is, a specially intimate alliance—between the Son of God and the Son of Mary. So Dorner[1] expressly says of him, and thereby justifies Cyril's repeated charge against him, that he only acknowledged a 'relative' union. In fact, one would be prepared for this conclusion by remembering that he was, in one way or another, the disciple of Theodore, who, among other phrases, compared the union of the Son of God with the Son of Man to the conjugal relation,[2] thereby denying point-blank that it was what we call a personal union.

If, then, the present Assyrians gave no further guarantee than might be found in some passages of Nestorius' sermons,[3] it would not go for much. But, according to Canon Maclean, they do give us further assurance. If they really believe that He, who was from eternity with God, and was God, did Himself become Man, the conclusion is irresistible—they hold that of which Θεοτόκος is,

[1] *Person of Christ*, II., i. p. 55.
[2] Migne, *Patrologia Græca*, vol. lxvi., col. 981A.
[3] Bright, *Church History*, pp. 311 *sqq*.

for Catholic Christians, the symbol and safeguard. I think that, to persons in their position, one would be disposed to say: 'Let us waive, for the present, the terms "Mother of God" and "Personal Union"—let us come closer to the point. Do you believe that it is the selfsame He who was from the first in the bosom of the Father, and who, in the fulness of time, appeared on earth as Jesus Christ?' hoping to hear the answer: 'Yes, we do.'

Again and again one recurs, with ever-increasing admiration and gratitude, to St. Athanasius. No doubt, he uses Θεοτόκος,[1] but he puts his finger on the very core and heart of the subject when, in his second and third orations against the Arians, he uses Αὐτὸς[2] so emphatically to mean just what later writers would mean by 'His Person.' If they are of one mind with him here, they may (to borrow his tenderly hopeful language about the semi-Arians) 'come in due time to accept'[3] Θεοτόκος as meaning this, and neither less nor more. And one would rejoice to think that, if they could have understood English, and been present, let us say, at St. Barnabas' this morning, when the church rang with the words,

> 'He was true God in Bethlehem's crib,
> On Calvary's cross true God,'

they would have been able to say: 'Yes, we, too,

[1] *E.g.*, *Orat. c. Arianos*, III., §§ 14, 29, 33 (ed. Bright).
[2] *E.g.*, *ibid.*, § 32.
[3] *De Synodis*, § 41, ap. Bright, *St. Athanasius' Historical Writings*, p. 291.

believe this!' And then one would have wanted a *Te Deum.*

Surely, in the event of their ever adopting the Catholic terms, they might append an explanation which would sufficiently guard against even the appearance of Eutychianism. And Canon Maclean might, I venture to think, find it useful to show them some of the many passages in which Cyril, for instance, repudiated as utterly monstrous the notion that Mary gave birth to Godhead,[1] or that there was any kind of change or fusion affecting the Divine Nature of the eternal Son in the assumption of our humanity.[2] He was never weary of disclaiming any such fantasies. Perhaps Canon Maclean has Dr. Heurtley's little reprint of Cyril's three letters in the *De Fide et Symbolo.*

[Canon Maclean remarks, with regard to this letter, that he had written to Dr. Bright from Urmi on November 2, 1887, explaining that his diary had only been meant for the general reader, and not for theologians like himself. 'I pointed out,' he says, 'the difficulty, that an Eastern will usually answer according to the wishes of his interrogator, and that therefore we took great care not to disclose our own views when trying to find out those of the East Syrian learned men; and the further difficulty that all but a few Syrians were too ignorant to hold any Christian doctrine intelligently. I said that the well-instructed among the old Syrians would readily accept Dr. Bright's proposition: "It is the selfsame He," etc., but that they would probably add, "in His Godhead," or "in His

[1] *E.g.*, S. Cyrilli 2 *Ep. ad Nest.*, ap. Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, p. 185.

[2] *E.g.*, 3 *Ep. ad Nest.*, § 3 (Heurtley, p. 189), and *Ep. ad Joann.* (*ibid.*, p. 203).

Manhood," respectively. So they would agree that "God the Son died *in His Manhood*." They cordially accept such expressions as "Jesus was God in the womb of the Blessed Virgin, or on the cross," and repudiate such a notion as is conveyed in the phrases, "The Son of God descended on the Son of Mary, and was united with him," or "God the Word descended on a man, and became flesh." On the other hand, there is no doubt that their phraseology in the past, if not in the present, is unorthodox. I then referred more fully to the word "Person," and to the phrase "two natures, two *Qnûmî*, one *Parṣôpa*": as to which I said that a learned Chaldean Bishop at Mosul (now an Uniat, but then holding an independent position), who was much averse to Nestorianism, told me, without being asked, that he thought this phrase was really intended only to convey the idea of the uni-personality of Christ. . . . I also added that I expressed no opinion about the theology of the forefathers of the Syrians, but only about that of the present generation.']

II.

To the Rev. Canon Maclean.

CHRIST CHURCH,
November 26, 1887.

I heartily thank you for the kindness which has led you, amid all your work, to send me so full a statement in further elucidation of the journal which I was permitted to read, and which has now been laid before all readers of the *Guardian*.[1] I will but briefly note some one or two points which occur to me in reading your letter.

No doubt if all that were desired on the part of the Old Chaldeans, in order to their appreciation and acceptance of Catholic doctrine, were that we

[1] November 23, 1887.

should carefully append to such statements as 'God the Son was born,' or 'died,' the explanatory words 'in,' or 'as touching the Manhood,' no difficulty would remain. We should do this naturally; we do it when we speak to our own brethren about the Incarnation. We do it, as St. Cyril did it before us. And the acceptance by Chaldeans of such a proposition as 'Jesus was God in the womb of the Virgin' or 'on the cross'—if they accept it literally and simply—carries with it a substantial acceptance of the very truth for which Cyril struggled. The repudiation of the proposition that the Son of God descended on the Son of Mary as on 'a man,' a human individual like Peter or John, confirms the hopes excited by the acceptance above mentioned. But I own that I have some misgivings as to the use of 'two *Qnûmî*' and 'one *Parṣôpa*.' For if 'two *Qnûmî*' mean only 'two natures,' why are three *Qnûmî* spoken of in regard to the three hypostases in the Holy Trinity? And that word *Parṣôpa* is notoriously ambiguous. I look into Assemani *De Syris Nestorianis*, and find that Nestorian divines have used it for 'appearance, character, representation';[1] in which sense to confess one *Parṣôpa* in the Incarnation might simply mean that the human person represented the Divine, as Nestorius held. One writer even explains *unio personalis* as like the relation between King and Viceroy. Assemani says they will affirm one *Parṣôpa*, one image, one will, one power, but two *substantiæ* and two *personæ* (so he translates the original terms). He

[1] *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. III., part ii., p. 218.

says that by *Qnûma* they mean hypostasis, by *Parṣôpa* a nature as patent to senses, as Christ's *Parṣôpa* would be His visible form, the Spirit's the dove, the Father's the fire in the bush.[1] He himself says: 'Dum unum πρόσωπον admittunt, nihil agunt nisi unam simul Qnûmam sive Hypostasim affirment.'[2] He quotes Pope Paul V. in 1617 writing to their Patriarch, 'Magna cautione opus est in voce *Personæ*. . .' because 'facile cum commento vocis *Parṣôpæ* . . . confunditur.' The Pope noted as unsound a Nestorian admission of one *Persona* of the Word in Christ, which was followed by the illustration, 'even as one tree is grafted into another,'[3] and, as fatally significant, the Nestorians' profession that their fathers had always, in fact, believed as they did now.[3] Assemani concludes: 'Expositionibus quas afferunt ut sensum Catholicum adstruant' for the proposition, 'Unum Christi πρόσωπον,' 'suspecta fide nunquam se purgabunt, nisi simul dicant "Unam Christi personam et hypostasim."'[4] The mere fact, then, that *Parṣôpa* is often used where nothing palpable can be meant is no guarantee, no reassurance; for it might then be used to signify 'character,' as when a lieutenant 'represents' his chief officer, etc. If one *Parṣôpa* is now used by the Chaldeans in the sense of one hypostasis (and less than this is less than sufficient), this must be by virtue of an advance in later years, from the position of the divines quoted by Assemani. Of course this is

[1] *Bibliotheca Orientalis*, Vol. III., part ii., p. 219.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 221. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 222. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 223.

quite possible, and one would most earnestly hope that it has actually taken place.

What you say of the Presbyterians' disciples is only one more proof of the terrible decadence of the Protestant sects from the Catholic faith as to the Incarnation, of which we have lately heard so much. . . .

III.

To Archbishop Benson.

[In answer to a request that he would report whether the East Syrian liturgies were suitable for publication by the Archbishop's Mission Press at Urmi.]

CHRIST CHURCH,
February 6, 1888.

In fulfilment of the commission with which your Grace has honoured me, I would say that there is nothing, so far as I see, in the 'Liturgy of the Apostles,' as exhibited by Dr. Badger[1] or in Hammond's *Liturgies Eastern and Western*,[2] from Renaudot's text,[3] which expresses, or necessarily implies, Nestorian heresy. The use of the term 'Mother of Christ' would, of course, be objectionable as part of a context which rejected the Catholic term, but here it does not so occur. On the other hand, the liturgy repeatedly speaks in terms which no one could seriously adopt or approve, who regarded our Lord as a human

[1] *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, ii., pp. 215-221, 223-241.
[2] Pp. 267 *sqq*.
[3] *Liturgiarum Orientalium Collectio*, ii., pp. 578 *sqq*. (2nd ed.).

person associated (however closely) with the Divine Son, or who did not, in fact, recognise in Him the selfsame Divine Son as incarnate. Our Lord is represented, *e.g.*, as 'receiving the Eucharistic Sacrifice'[1]—language which goes beyond the usual tenor of liturgies, whether Eastern or Western, although some other rites adopt it. . . .

On the whole, I should take this liturgy as going some way, at least, to a proof that the Assyrians are not consciously and advisedly heretical—*i.e.*, that they do not mean to represent our Lord as other than Divine in His *Ego*, or personal Self.

The other question which your Grace puts is not quite so easy to answer. The differences between the order, and in some respects between the wording of the liturgy as given by Badger and by Hammond, are considerable, and perhaps Canon Maclean may have before him some manuscripts which would tend to establish a better text than even Hammond—*i.e.*, Renaudot (Miss Payne-Smith prefers Hammond to Badger). There cannot, then, be a question of simply reprinting Badger; according to Miss Payne-Smith's notes, his version must be corrected.

I feel sure that there is a misprint in it in one passage. 'Let us ever and at all times offer praise to Thy glorious Trinity, O Christ!'[2] It is clear that there should be a full-stop after 'Trinity,' and that then our Lord is addressed in a new sentence.[3]

There is in the liturgy according to Badger,

[1] Hammond, p. 279. [2] Badger, ii. p. 218.
[3] So in Hammond, p. 270; Brightman, *Liturgies*, i., p. 268.

and in a less degree according to Hammond, a strangely bold use of 'anticipative' language at the offertory, the unconsecrated elements being called the Body and Blood.[1] But a subsequent prayer for the sanctification of the oblation[2] proves that this language is not to be strained. Similar language in substance occurs in other Eastern rites. If Badger's text be duly corrected, I see no reason against its being printed as a representation of the actual rite of the Assyrians.

[Canon Maclean remarks on this that the text published was an independent one formed by collation of a large number of manuscripts.]

IV.

To the Rev. Canon Maclean.

[In answer to an inquiry as to the propriety of the phrase, 'Christ took and put on (as a garment) flesh.']

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
March 4, 1888.

This sentence is, on any hypothesis, a somewhat strange one. Perhaps if one knew the context, the strangeness might be, at least partially, relieved.

It is not strictly accurate on the Catholic hypothesis, but it is actually unintelligible on the Nestorian! For who would say of any human person that 'he took and clothed himself with flesh'?

The inaccuracy, from a Catholic point of view,

[1] Badger, ii., p. 218; Brightman, i., p. 267.
[2] Badger, ii., p. 232; Brightman, i., p. 287 (The Invocation).

consists in the substitution of 'Christ' for 'the Word' or 'the Son.' Strictly speaking, the Word, or the Son, took flesh, and so, by becoming incarnate, *became* 'Christ.' However, as St. Thomas Aquinas says (*Summa*, III. xvi. 3) that, 'cum dicitur homo Jesus Christus, designatur suppositum æternum quod est persona Filii Dei, propter hoc quod est unum suppositum utriusque naturæ,' an orthodox writer might in such a connection use 'Christ' for 'the Person of the Word or Son'; *e.g.*, he might say, 'Christ was from eternity' or 'Christ made the world' (especially in a sermon or meditation).

Substituting, therefore, mentally the terms 'the Son' or 'the Word' for 'Christ' in the proposition in question, we see that it is utterly contrary to Nestorianism. In what both Garnier[1] and Baluze[2] reckon as the *first* sermon of Nestorius, he seems to have said, 'For the sake of Him who uses it, I worship the garment which He uses'[3]—language *per se* quite capable of an orthodox meaning, but in *his* sense conveying a heterodox meaning, viz., 'I worship the human person whom the Divine Person has associated with Himself, on the principle of relative worship or honour.' And, in the sermon reckoned by one editor as seventh,[4] by another as second,[5] Nes-

[1] Nestorii Sermo I., § 9; Garnier, *Marii Mercatoris Opera* (ap. Migne, *Patrologia Latina*, tom. xlviii., col. 762A).

[2] Baluzius, *Mar. Merc. Opera*, p. 55 (Parisiis, 1684).

[3] 'Propter utentem illud indumentum quo utitur colo.' *Cf.* Bright, *Church History*, p. 311, note *f*.

[4] Nest. Serm. VII., § 32; Garnier, *Mar. Merc. Opera* (ap. Migne, *P. L.*, tom. xlviii., col. 797D).

[5] Baluzius, *Mar. Merc. Opera*, p. 65.

torius says, 'Adoro [Christum] tanquam animatam Regis purpuram,' the King being the Divine Word.

Now, the anti-Nestorian theologians do not object at all to the imagery of a 'garment,' if used without involving the idea of an association between a human person, Jesus, and the Word or Son. Let the 'garment' be taken to mean simply the human nature, or manhood, or flesh, assumed by the Word into union with His single Personality, and they will speak thus of it. Proclus, preaching against Nestorius, says, 'εἰ μὴ γὰρ ἐνεδύσατο ἐμὲ, οὐκ ἂν ἐσωσεν ἐμὲ';[1] clearly meaning, 'If He had not assumed the nature which I bear.' And just as St. Athanasius had spoken of the Lord's Body as the garment which the Lord wore (Ep. lx., Ad Adelphium, § 6),[2] so Cyril not only speaks over and over again of the Divine Son as having 'taken' or assumed our flesh, and thus 'appropriated' the conditions of human life, or 'made that flesh ἰδίαν,'[3] but disclaims or guards against the notion that the Son's Godhead descended into Hades, γυμνὴ —*i.e.*, without its assumed clothing of humanity (*De Incarn. Unigen.*, c. xx.).[4] He says that the 'Son appropriated manhood, περίβλημα σμικροπρεπές' (*ibid.*, c. xxv.);[5] and, again, that 'He, being by

[1] § 8, ap. Migne, *P. G.*, tom. xlv., col. 687D.

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Athanasius*, p. 68, and *Orat. c. Ar.*, iii., § 32, p. 186.

[3] *Cf.* 2 *Ep. ad Nest.*, ap. Heurtley, p. 184.

[4] *S. Cyrilli Opera*, vol. vii., p. 68 (ed. P. E. Pusey).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 109.

nature God, *τὴν τοῦ παθεῖν δεκτικὴν ἠμπέσχετο σάρκα* ' (*Quod unus est Christus*, in Pusey's edition of Cyril, vii., p. 407).

The imagery in question clearly originated in Heb. x. 20 (*cf.* 'Veiled in flesh the Godhead see'). I think, therefore, that understanding 'Christ' to mean the Son of God as a Divine Person, the sentence is quite orthodox, and that to take it in any other way is to introduce, not mere verbal inexactness, but actual unintelligibleness.

V.

[The following letter seems to have been written to the Archbishop's chaplain. There had been a question whether the three liturgies of the East Syrians, ascribed respectively to Addai[1] and Mari,[2] to Theodore, and to Nestorius,[3] should be so described in the published edition.]

CHRIST CHURCH,
June 14, 1889.

It appears to me that, as the Assyrian Christians do not now hold consciously or intelligently the peculiar heresy which Theodore taught, and which Nestorius imbibed from his writings, there could be no real impropriety in following the example of the Roman Catholic editor of the two liturgies, which bear those two names but contain no taint of the error in question, and are therefore somewhat injured in our eyes by being thus designated.

[1] Renaudot, ii., pp. 578 *sqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 610 *sqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 620 *sqq.*

One might think that it would be well, were it possible, to entitle the liturgy of SS. Addæus and Maris the 'First Liturgy,' as being, I suppose, of primary authority among the Assyrians, and superior, therefore, to the two which would thus rank as 'Second' and 'Third.' But reasons, which those only who are on the spot could appreciate, may perhaps be urged as decisive against such a course.

I do not understand what 'doctrinal considerations' could stand in the way of a combination of the baptismal offices with the liturgies. But such a combination, so far as one can form an opinion, would seem likely to have a good effect.

Respectfully submitting this to His Grace's judgment, and thanking him for his goodness in consulting me . . .

[This letter is endorsed by Archbishop Benson: 'I agree; and if he considers the Baptismal Office sound, add it.']

VI.

To the same.

[A report on the orthodoxy of the East Syrian Baptismal Office.]

CHRIST CHURCH,
June 27, 1889.

It has been a pleasure to go to the Bodleian with the Archbishop's errand.

The Baptismal Office of the Assyrians as translated by Dr. Badger[1] has not, as far as I can

[1] *Op. cit.*, ii., pp. 195 *sq.*

judge, a single trace of Nestorianism. On the contrary, it contains language which no intelligent holder of that heresy could adopt. Thus, 'The Very Son of the Essence of the Father of His own will humbled Himself, and in His mercy took upon Him our body.'[1] 'Glory be to the Most Highest, who descended and took the body of our humiliation!'[2] 'O Thou Highest, who descendedst and tookest . . .!'[3] Throughout the office 'the Saviour,' 'Christ,' is continually identified in the simplest and most absolute manner with the Divine Son, the Second Person of the Holy Trinity; and in order to express the theory of an association between the Son of God and the Son of Mary (as supposed by Nestorianism), it is not too much to say that the office would have to be reconstructed —*i.e.*, supposing always that it was to be used in its simple grammatical meaning, without disingenuous mental glosses in a sense contrary to that which the words convey.

But on quite another subject one passage does, I think, give occasion for some questioning.

Thus: 'Who from the beginning made men mortal and corruptible, for the trial of their free will.'[4] (Another clause in a prayer, 'In Thy inscrutable wisdom Thou didst *bring us into* this world with a corruptible origin,'[5] might refer to the case of each human being since the Fall.) It might, of course, be said that the human body had in itself, from the first, elements of dissolution; but that, if there had been no Fall, their operation

[1] Badger, ii., p. 198. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 208. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 211.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 197. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 206.

would have been supernaturally arrested, so that *practically* it was 'through sin' that 'death came into the world' of our present humanity. A person who meant this would, however, I think, prefer to use language which conveyed that distinction rather than the unqualified terms of the passage above quoted. . . .

It is curious that in this office unction[1] takes place only *before* Baptism, and Confirmation is given by simple imposition of hands with the sign of the cross,[2] as in our Prayer-Book of 1549 and in the traditional Scottish use.

VII.

To the Rev. Canon Maclean.

[In reply to a letter of his from Urmi, October 9, 1889, about the two passages in the East Syrian Baptismal Office above referred to—'Who from the beginning made men mortal and corruptible for the trial of their free will,' and 'Thou didst bring us into this world with a corruptible origin'—Canon Maclean had written as follows: 'I find the word used is *mithkhablânâ*, which I think cannot mean more than "capable of corruption." It does not seem to imply any notion of the seed of corruption being in Adam before the Fall, but only that he was capable of falling. These passive verbal adjectives are always interpreted as expressing capability . . . and this appears to be carried out by the Pshittâ of 1 Cor. xv. 42, 50-55. . . . These verses, literally translated, seem to bring out a difference (which is not in the Greek) between "being in a state of non-corruption" and "being in a state incapable of corruption." Thus: (ver. 42) "They are sown in the state of corrupting: they rise in the state of not-corrupt-

[1] Badger, ii., p. 196.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 210.

ing"; (ver. 50) "That which is in the state of corrupting does not inherit the state of being incapable of corrupting"—*là mithkhablânâ;* (ver. 52) "The dead shall rise in the state of not-corrupting"; (ver. 53) "For this, which is in the state of corrupting (pres. tense), is about to put on the state of being incapable of corruption (as before); and this, which is in the act of dying (pres. tense), to put on the state of not-dying" (*là mâyûthûthâ*), or "of not being able to die." . . . Thus, the word we are discussing seems to be used in 1 Corinthians to denote possibility of corruption, and when that which is actually corrupting is intended, this word is not used, but the present tense of the verb (*d'mithkhabâl*).

'Where the Authorized Version gives "corruptible" or "incorruptible" (Rom. i. 23; 1 Cor. ix. 25; 1 Peter i. 18, 23, iii. 4, etc.), this word is not used, but the present tense or its equivalent.

'These passages seem to confirm the rule that words of the form in question describe only capability. . . . What is meant (in the Baptismal Office) is that Adam was capable of corruption before the Fall, though he had not any corruption in him at that time, and a contrast is drawn between him and God, who is not only not in a state of corruption, but also not capable of corruption.

'I also suggested that in 1 Cor. xv. 53, where the grammatical form ("state of not-dying") is different, this may be due to death being a single action, and corruption a continuous state.'

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
November 9, 1889.

I thank you very heartily for the letter which you have so kindly written to me on those passages in the Assyrian Baptismal Offices. I am totally incapable of forming any personal opinion, through my ignorance of Oriental tongues. But I have shown your letter to Mr. Margoliouth, our new Professor of Arabic, who is a most learned Orientalist, and I enclose his reply, which, I think, may please you.

We had an interesting meeting on the subject of the mission at Magdalen College last Sunday evening, when Mr. Riley gave an account of its work.

VIII.

From the Laudian Professor of Arabic to Dr. Bright.

New College, Oxford,
November 8 [1889].

Dear Canon Bright,

I have read your friend's letter, which I return. His argument seems to me quite sound and accurate, and to take proper account of Syriac usage.

Yours very truly,
D. S. Margoliouth.

IX.

To the Rev. Canon Maclean.

[In answer to a question of his, dated November 23, 1889, as to the orthodoxy of a phrase in the Liturgy of Nestorius: 'He emptied Himself, and took the form of a servant, perfect man, of a reasonable, intelligent, and immortal soul, and of a mortal human body; and joined and united with Himself, in glory and power and honour, a passible nature which was formed by the power of the Holy Ghost, and was born (literally, *was*) of a woman, and was under the Law.' Also of the passage in the Liturgy of Addai and Mari: 'When Thou shalt be manifested at the end of times in the man, whom Thou didst assume from us.' Also in the Liturgy of Theodore: 'The Son of God, God the Word, our Lord Jesus Christ, put on Himself perfect man.']

Christ Church,
December 14, 1889.

1. Looking at all the passages in Renaudot's Latin version, I should say that the passage in the Liturgy of Nestorius—to the effect that our Lord 'took the likeness of a servant, perfect man, of a reasonable soul,' etc., and 'joined him [*i.e.*, man] to Himself in glory . . .'[1]—would not necessarily betray any Nestorian taint if taken, as in fairness it should be, with the context. For, in the words preceding, 'our Lord Jesus Christ' is strictly identified with 'Thy Holy, Only-begotten Son . . . God the Word.' And although (as Renaudot says[2]) it would be heresy to say that the Son of God took '*a* man' into union with Himself, such union consisting merely in the participation of 'glory and power,' there is no proof here (but the contrary) that by 'perfect man' in this passage there is intended a human individual, and not, rather, all that really constitutes manhood.

The use of ἄνθρωπος and of *homo* in this sense of 'manhood' is, we all know, by no means uncommon in the Fathers. Cardinal Newman speaks of St. Athanasius' 'ordinary use of ἄνθρωπος for the manhood' (*e.g.*, *Orat. cont. Arian.*, iv., § 36; *cf.* Newman, *Treatises of St. Athan.*, ii., 345[3]). And St. Augustine similarly uses *homo* in *Civ. Dei*, xi. 2: 'homine assumpto, non Deo consumpto';[4] and *De Agone Christiano*, § 12: 'homo,

[1] Renaudot, *op. cit.*, ii., p. 622. [2] *Ibid.*, note 7, p. 637.
[3] Library of the Fathers.
[4] *Opera*, tom. vii., col. 273D (ed. Ben.).

quem suscepit Filius Dei.'[1] Of course, after Nestorianism arose such language was to be avoided as capable of easy perversion; and so St. Cyril says that they go wrong who dare to speak of τὸν ἀναληφθέντα ἄνθρωπον, 'and affirm that he ought as a separate person to be worshipped jointly with the Son of God' (*Adv. Theod.*, c. 8[2]). And St. Thomas Aquinas says that such expressions as in Augustine's *De Agone* are to be understood in the sense of the assumption of man's nature, with the result that the Son of God is man (*Summa*, III. iv. 3). However, such a phrase in such a liturgy, though in a way suspicious, is to be judged by the general drift of the whole document.

2. The passage in the Liturgy of St. Addæus and St. Maris, 'in homine quem a nobis assumpsisti,'[3] is to be similarly interpreted, for in this liturgy 'the Son' (of God) is identified with Jesus Christ, as in the 'Prayer of Inclination.'[4] Christ is also spoken of as 'the Life-giver.'[5]

3. So, in the Liturgy of Theodore (Renaudot, ii. 614), 'induit hominem perfectum' must surely be interpreted by the preceding phrase (*ibid.*, 612). 'Induitque humanitatem nostram, corpus mortale et animam rationalem,' which is strictly a parallel passage to 'Accepit hominem perfectum ex animâ rationali . . .'[6] as quoted before from the Liturgy of Nestorius.

[1] *Opera*, tom. vi., col. 251F.

[2] Migne, *P. G.*, tom. lxxvi., col. 429; *cf.* Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Athan.*, p. 164.

[3] Renaudot, ii., p. 582. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 586.

[5] 'Induisti humanam naturam nostram, ut vitam nobis praestares per divinitatem tuam' (*ibid.*, p. 584).

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 622.

X.

To the Rev. Canon Maclean.

[In answer to a question about printing a reference to 'the company of Diodorus' in the East Syrian Offices.]

CHRIST CHURCH,
February 21, 1891.

I do not remember how you have treated those passages in the East Syrian Office-books, in which Nestorius and Theodore are named with veneration. They stand, so to speak, on a different level from Diodore. He was not, so far as appears, condemned (I mean for this heresy, of course) by any Œcumenical Council. The Fifth[1] omits his name when branding the other two. And Cyril's attempt to get his name condemned in the archiepiscopate of Proclus had to be given up from motives of policy, if not from a more Christianlike objection to anathematizing the dead.

But, on the other hand, I cannot think that Cyril was wrong when he traced the Nestorian mischief through Theodore to Diodore.[2] Doubtless Theodore developed and systematized his master's line of heterodox speculation; but, as far as I can see, he found his own favourite idea as to the two personalities of Christ in Diodore, though in a less coherent form. For Diodore appears to have made the difference between Jesus and the

[1] Constantinople, 553: *cf.* Canon 5, *ap.* Hefele, iv., p. 331.
[2] See Dr. Bright's article 'Cyrillus' in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*, i., p. 771.

prophets to be a difference of degree rather than of kind. He held, I mean, that, whereas the prophets enjoyed only a partial amount of inspiring grace, Jesus permanently abode in the Presence into which they were at times admitted. If he thought out what he said, he could hardly have failed to substitute for a real Incarnation a very exceptional fulness of intercourse between the Divine Son or Word and one highly-favoured human individual. But all this is familiar to you. I cannot judge as to the impression which this or that phrase may now produce on the East Syrians. But, speaking tentatively as from a distance, I cannot but think that if you exclude (as I presume you do exclude) the names of Nestorius and Theodore from the translated Offices, you can hardly with intelligible consistency, or even fairness, include the name of the man who, whatever were his merits, for many years, as a steadfast opponent of Arianism at Antioch, did, as a matter of historical fact, gather together the less sound elements of the Syrian school into something like a Christological doctrine, which in effect prepared the way for Nestorianism.

One feels all the more bound to be careful in this matter, because, most unhappily, the recent discussion about one essay in *Lux Mundi* has given an impulse to an unsuspected amount of Nestorianizing thought in England, which falls in with the tendencies of the time. Not Eutychian but Nestorian error is the type of misbelief against which *we* have specially to guard.

P.S.—Does not your question mainly depend on another? Why was 'the company of Diodore' named in these offices? Was it not because of his theological connection with Theodore and with Nestorius? What other reason can be assigned?

XI.

To the Rev. Canon Maclean.

[In answer to a request that he might quote Dr. Bright's letters in the *Catholicos of the East and his People*, published a little later by him and Rev. W. H. Browne.]

CHRIST CHURCH,
September 14, 1891.

. . . Perhaps in order to meet a possible objection, that Nestorius did at times virtually admit the singleness of the Christ, though he habitually annulled any such admission by making that unity (in Cyril's phrase) σχετικὴ[1] or unreal, you might use some such word as 'substantially' before the word 'teaching' on p. 1; or you might add something to the effect that what he held was, in fact, only a very close association between the Son of God and the Son of Man, differing rather in degree than in kind from the association between the Divine Word and any saintly man.

At the end of p. 2 I think it would make the *communicatio idiomatum*[2] clearer if you said, 'Attributing to the Christ Himself in His One

[1] 3 *Ep. ad Nest.*, § 5, *ap.* Heurtley, *De Fide et Symbolo*, p. 190.

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*, p. 130.

Person, under the title belonging to one of His natures, the properties of the other,' and then gave an illustration: *e.g.*, when St. Paul speaks of 'the Lord of glory' as having been 'crucified'[1]—*i.e.*, of Christ, under the title of God, as having suffered what He suffered only as man. (This might be stated more clearly, as you will know how.)

I do not mind being quoted if you like, and if it may also be made clear that I, being ignorant of Syriac, could only read the Office through your translation.

It might perhaps help, as a further illustration, to quote the Formula of Reunion[2] between Cyril and John, as showing how mutual explanation did in that instance remove differences, Cyril agreeing to adopt language which he had not before used—*e.g.*, as to 'the consubstantiality of the Incarnate with us, as touching the manhood.' Thus far the objections of the Syrians did great service to the faith by leading Cyril to balance his language better. I always feel that his original Twelve Articles[3] were not *throughout* judiciously worded, that they did, in one or two places at least, invite misgivings on the part of the Syrian school of theologians, and that they needed complementary statements such as the Formula of Reunion supplied.

[1] 1 Cor. ii. 8.

[2] *Ep. ad Joann.*, Περὶ δὲ τῆς Θεοτόκου . . . παραδίδοντας, *ap.* Heurtley, pp. 200 *sq.*

[3] *Ep. ad Nest.*, *ap.* Heurtley, pp. 196 *sq.*; *cf.* Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Athan.*, pp. 157 *sqq.*

To the Rev. ——, on Monothelitism.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
December 8, 1891.

I fear I cannot enter at all fully into the question which you mention. One has much to do just before winding up the occupations of term, as to which I am somewhat behindhand.

But I might refer you to Hefele's *History of the Councils*, as to the question of Monothelitism.[1] For my own part, I should have thought that will, in the sense of the power of volition, was a property of nature, but exercised by the person holding or living in that nature, or, as one might express it, was of the person in respect to the nature. In the case of the three Divine Hypostases, who are not separate persons in the human sense, I should say there was but one will (as there is but one counsel) belonging to the one indivisible Nature, but exercised by the three Hypostases, who are, theologically speaking, coinherent. (But doubtless the mystery is beyond human language.) In the case of our Lord as incarnate, it seems to me that 'will' and 'activity' are correlative; that if His Divine *and* His human nature had respectively an 'activity' belonging to each, the like would be the case with the 'will.' But both activity and volition would belong to, would be exerted by, the one Ego or Person of the Son, as existing in two spheres of being (*cf.* St. Leo's Tome[2]). In the Agony there must

[1] Vol. v.

[2] C. 3, *ap.* Heurtley, pp. 208 *sq.*: and Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*, pp. 113 *sq.*

have been an act of human volition, expressing itself, as you say, in 'Not My will, but Thine be done'[1]—*i.e.*, 'Not My will' considered in the abstract, as if it could be opposed to the Divine will, which was One in the Father and in Himself. If there was no human volition, then the reality of the self-sacrifice is impaired. Archbishop Trench points this out in a note to his Hulsean Lectures.[2] Of course what spoke, as it were, in τὸ σὸν γενέσθω was our Lord's humanity—that is, our Lord in His humanity—not the Divinity or Divine will of the Son as such, coinciding with the Divine will of the Father. As Hefele says, there is but one will in the One Trinity, and Pope Honorius (as he represents him) was wrong in ignoring that fact, and also in arguing that because there could be no effective resistance of the lower to the higher nature in Christ, therefore it was necessary to affirm only one will in Christ. He confounded says Hefele, what was distinct with what was opposed, a moral unity with a physical.[3]

It seems to me that the Sixth Council[4] was theologically quite consistent with itself, and quite faithful to the principles laid down by the Fourth. It was the one Person of Christ who, by assuming the 'form' or character of humanity, while retaining, as I should say, the 'form' or character of Divinity, made Himself capable of living, as it were, two lives, and exerting two sets of qualities

[1] Luke xxii. 42.

[2] P. 200 (2nd ed., 1847); *cf.* Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*, pp. 173 *sq.*

[3] Councils, v., p. 33.

[4] Constantinople, 680; Hefele, v., pp. 149 *sqq.*

or powers. It was He, the selfsame, who in one of those spheres revealed His essential unity with the Father; it was He who, in the other sphere, felt a wish for water to allay the human sensation of thirst. Here was the sinless human will, which, as the Council says, never gainsaid or resisted the Divine will. All seems to run up into one point: 'That original mystery' (to borrow a phrase of Cardinal Newman's as to the Trinity) of the Incarnation, that a single Ego became capable of living, willing, acting, both as God in His higher nature and as man in His lower. Grant this, and (as it seems to me) the two wills and two activities (as understood and explained by the Council) will follow. Or one might state the mystery as implying the existence of what (for want of a better term) we call His human nature —what constitutes manhood,—as belonging not to any individual human person, but to a Divine Person, who is the agent in all its activities.

P.S.—I need hardly refer you to Hooker, *Ecclesiastical Polity*, V. xlviii. 9. He adopts Aquinas' dictum, 'Ipsa potentia voluntatis est naturalis.'[1] It goes, then, with the nature. If Nestorianism were true it would be exercised by a human person, Jesus, as distinct from the Divine Person of the Son of God; because Nestorianism is false, the human nature's will-power in Christ was exercised by the same Divine Person, who in His Divine nature exercised a Divine will. The passage in Aquinas is *Summa*, III. xviii. 1 ad 3,

[1] *Summa*, III., xviii. 1 *ad* 3.

where he infers a human will from the completeness of human nature as 'taken into God,' but without prejudice to the continuous existence of the Divine will in the Person of the Son. He goes into refinements about a possible assertion of two *human* wills in Christ, one relating to bodily needs, the other to reason, or about a subdivision of His reasonable will into θέλησις (pure wishing for, *e.g.*, health) and βούλησις. But with these we need not trouble ourselves. Pope Martin I.'s Lateran Council in 649[1] inferred two θελήματα in union (*i.e.*, close concord), because each φύσις in Christ implied His being θελητικὸς, and in the synodal letter 'the essential activity and θέλησις (here = θέλημα) of our essence is a natural property belonging to that essence.'[2] Messengers from a subsequent Pope were led on to admit the notion of one 'personal' and two 'natural' wills in Christ, by way of compromise—an absurd notion, of course, which would imply that with the two 'natural' wills the Divine Person was not concerned.

In Sophronius of Jerusalem's letter to Sergius the Son is said to have become Incarnate ἑκουσίῳ θελήματι by the βούλησις of the Father and the συνευδοκία of the Holy Spirit; and then it is added that as He is of the same βούλησις with the Father and the Spirit, so is He of the same οὐσία,[3] etc.

The passage to which you refer, I suppose, is in Pope Agatho's letter to the Emperors, read in the fourth session[4] of the Council, inferring (I

[1] Hefele, v. pp. 97 *sqq.* [2] Mansi, x. 1171C.
[3] 634, Mansi, xi. 473A.
[4] November 15, 680; Hefele, v., p. 155.

think correctly) 'one natural will, power, dominion, glory,' from 'the one nature or essence in the Trinity,'[1] etc.

To an Undergraduate who had written to thank him for a sermon on Grace and the Will.[2]

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
November 23, 1891.

I am very grateful for your kind note. If I said anything that you thought helpful, I am truly glad of it.

The subject is one which does come home to all of us, sometimes with a force that seems overaweing. May I suggest to you to look at two sermons by great preachers—Newman's, on 'The Power of the Will,' in the fifth volume of his *Parochial Sermons*,[3] and Mozley's on 'The Strength of Wishes,' in his *University Sermons*.[4]

Of course, one has to pass somewhat lightly over various parts of so great a subject. That our antecedents *do* in a sense control us, that habit *has* a tight hold, and that dispositions do differ in their innate force of self-government—these are points which no one could ignore. They are referred to, I recollect, in a very instructive passage in Guizot's *Civilization in France*, where he points out that Pelagius overlooked real limitations

[1] Mansi, xi. 237D.
[2] *Morality in Doctrine*, pp. 63 *sqq*.
[3] Pp. 341 *sqq*.
[4] Pp. 213 *sqq*.

as to the natural power of willing aright.[1] Mozley takes the same ground, I think, in his book on *The Augustinian Doctrine of Predestination*.[2] And I had only time to allude to the necessity of a movement of the Holy Spirit on the will, which may be neglected or resisted, but which does give that impulse without which a good act or will is impossible. In a practical sense, I think it is best, if one feels a lack of strength, to take one matter of duty at a time, and thus regain strength in detail, always laying stress on what Dr. Pusey used to call the duty nearest to one's hand.

And as 'nature is not contradictory to grace,' but may be its auxiliary, it helps one a good deal to avoid vacillation and change of mind, even in small matters of secular interest. This sort of steadiness in one's everyday arrangements of time or occupation acts like a tonic on the capacity of the will for higher and more momentous effects. I need not say that one thing is above all others essential, a belief in the Divine readiness to impart the strength of which one stands in need. I do not mean an abstract or general recognition of one's dependence on God, but a personal faith in His desire to help one's self personally. I always think that there is deep comfort in such an instance as the life of Jeremiah furnishes. He seems to have been naturally somewhat irresolute, but he was braced up into a strength which is compared to a 'fenced wall.'[3] In the New Testament, John

[1] *Histoire de la Civilisation en France*, Leçon V. (vol. i., p. 138, ed. 1872).

[2] P. 64 (ed. 1885).

[3] Jer. xv. 20.

Mark is another example of what grace can do in this way. But there is nothing like endeavouring to realize the sympathy and promised help of our Lord.

If you care ever to look in on me, I shall be glad to see you.

To Rev. J. J. Lias, on the theological meaning of Grace.

February 5, 1897.

I am sure you would not advise us to drop the use of such an established theological term as 'grace.' We should have to rewrite many of the Church Collects if we consented to such a restriction—I will say such an impoverishment—of language, which, as it is, is all too weak and scanty for things Divine. It is too late in the day to think of abandoning the Augustinian phraseology as such, warranted as it is (apart from Augustine's exaggerations) by passages in which St. Paul appears to use 'grace' for a Divine gift of power or help, or a force (not compulsory) energizing our intellect, affections, and will (see Liddon, *University Sermons*, i. 44, ii. 34). Then, if we are to retain the word, we may, you will admit, speak of this force or gift of power as 'bestowed,' 'set in motion,' 'infused.' Of course, we must take all care to associate it, in our own and in other minds, with the personal action of the life-giving Spirit of grace.[1] For instance, one would not undertake

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of Three Great Fathers*, p. 162, n. 3.

to write or speak about 'grace' without making that clear *ab initio;* and when it is once made clear, one may fairly trust ingenuous and intelligent readers to bear it in mind throughout the discussion.

To the Rev. J. J. Lias, on the same.

Thank you much. I quite see and appreciate your point as to the possible misapprehension of the nature of 'grace' in the Christian sense. In fact, it was to your book on St. John[1] that I owed long ago the first clear and strong impression that I ever received as to this danger. And, as I said, I think one ought always to provide against it by emphasizing at the outset the personal operation of the Holy Spirit, as, you remember, Augustine himself does in his *De Spiritu et Littera*.[2] But there is, I think, a truth—a fact of ordinary Christian experience—in the idea of assistance from time to time in view of this or that temptation. When our Lord said to St. Paul, 'My grace is sufficient for thee,'[3] He certainly implied the special activity of that grace to help at the particular time of need which had called forth the Apostle's entreaty. I think, in short, that we cannot dispense with the Prayer-Book language; it is embedded in one of the addresses of the Catechism[4] as well as in most of the Collects. We must guard

[1] *The Doctrinal System of St. John*, esp. pp. 257 *sqq.*
[2] *Opera*, tom x., coll. 85 *sqq.*: Bright, *Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine*, pp. 1 *sqq.*; *cf.* esp. §§ 32-36.
[3] 2 Cor. xii. 9. [4] 'My good child, know this,' etc.

it, as we have to guard so much else, by diligent explanations; but the fact of a constant 'presence' or 'indwelling' does not, to my mind, abate the necessity of definite supplies of 'grace' to meet spiritual or moral emergencies, any more than the continuity of physical life annuls the occurrence of critical periods, at which health requires peculiar care or treatment.

To the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of ——, on the relation of Confirmation to Baptism.

Ascension Day, 1894.

. . . There is a canon of Arles[1] in 1260-1 ordering Bishops to be fasting when they confirm, except in case of *nimia multitudo* (which would lengthen out the service); and confirmands when they receive, except *parvuli* at the breast: so that as late as the thirteenth century infant Confirmation lingered in the West. There is the much earlier canon of the First Council of Orange,[2] 441, directing that if chrism has in any case been omitted in Baptism, *in confirmatione sacerdos* (*i.e.*, the Bishop) *commonebitur;* which shows that an interval between Baptism and Confirmation was already becoming usual. Canon Mason's view[3] appears to me quite irreconcilable with our Prayer-Book and our practice. It would require us, I think, either to adopt infant Confirmation or to

[1] Canon 3; Mansi, xxiii. 1004.
[2] Canon 2; Hefele, iii., p. 160.
[3] Mason, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism.*

disuse infant Baptism. For no Christian soul under the care of the Church ought to be allowed to go on for years without the specifically Christian gift of the Holy Spirit.[1]

To the Rev. ——, in reply to enquiries as to books for a course of instruction on certain controverted doctrines.

LANGHAM HOTEL,
PORTLAND PLACE, W.,
January 31, 1894.

Generally speaking, I should say that Sadler's *Church Doctrine*, *Bible Truth*, would supply what you want, hints or suggestions as to clear and popular exposition of all those five subjects.

You might supplement that inestimable book by looking at Law's Letters to Hoadly, recently edited anew by Gore, a book which I wish all our friends possessed and knew.[2] It is particularly clear and good on the distinction (to put it technically) between the efficient cause of sacramental grace—that is, of course, our Lord's own personal operation—and the instrumental cause—that is, either (as you look at it) the outward 'sign' or the human administrator—either, or, rather, both. When you speak on the Succession, you might point out that the question there is really between

[1] For further criticism of this view, *cf.* Bright, *Morality in Doctrine*, p. 91.

[2] *William Law's Defence of Church Principles*, edd. Nash and Gore (1893).

it and no ministry at all of Divine appointment; if there is no derivation of ministerial power by succession from those to whom our Lord first committed it, then every congregation of Christians can appoint its own minister, and all ministers whatsoever will be on the same level of legitimacy. On this see Gore, *The Church and the Ministry*.[1] People very often seem to forget that the question is not whether the ministries of Presbyterianism or Congregationalism may not claim equality with that of Episcopacy, but whether all ministries, in the most ephemeral and insignificant of sects, have not as good a right as that of the Scottish Establishment to call themselves 'sent'[2] and ordained. I should suggest to such persons as you want to reach that we simply want to get a clear 'hold-on' to the ministry, which alone was chartered and empowered by Christ in the person of the Apostles on the first Easter Sunday; and that no ministry but that of the three Holy Orders can assure us of this connection.

As to Baptismal Regeneration: of course, you would begin by distinguishing what popular Protestantism confounds, the infusion of the new life and its development. You would express sympathy with the religious earnestness which has made many good persons shrink from the doctrine understood as they utterly misunderstood it. And you would dwell on the witness which it

[1] Esp. c. iv., pp. 198 *sqq.* (ed. 1900). *Cf.* Bright, *Some Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, pp. 12 *sqq.*; and *The Law of Faith*, pp. 338 *sqq.*

[2] John xx. 21.

bears to our Lord's and the Holy Spirit's present agency in regard even to the feeblest and most dependent of human creatures, and the relation between this belief and the gracious action of Christ towards the infants brought to Him. Further, you could easily show how it enhances the responsibility of Christian parents, and furnishes a pivot, so to speak, for the work of Christian education.

'Can a man give grace?' Well, of course (as I said just now), he cannot give it in the ordinary sense; but he can act as the human medium through which Christ gives it, just as the system of human media for the bestowal of benefits from God is one which characterizes God's order of natural providence as well as His sacramental operation: so that the former should make it easier to apprehend the latter.

Absolution, you could show, is the sentence of God, the priest being merely the medium whereby it is announced. No Christian who accepts the words of Christ to the Apostles, 'Whose soever sins ye remit,'[1] etc., can reject the principle; he may say this power has not survived Apostolic times, but the principle itself is embodied in that text.

There is more difficulty, perhaps, in bringing Eucharistic doctrines home. Prejudice here is intense—yet, after all, on reflection, one might say not more intense than on the last-named topic. I think one might say that the latter part of St. John vi. did prepare one to expect something

[1] John xx. 23.

very great, mysterious, and spiritually important in connection with the words of Institution, and with St. Paul's reference to the Holy Communion.[1] The Incarnation and its relation to our renewal through the communication of Spiritual life from the Incarnate might be dwelt upon before you come to the Eucharist itself, as forming, so to speak, a necessary introduction. And as for the Sacrifice, I should begin by sweeping off the ground all notions of a repetition[2] of the Atonement, of a new redemption, 'satisfaction,' etc., so as to show that nothing like that is intended. Then, and only then, would it be opportune to show that our Lord, as the Lamb that was slain, must always be still pleading His Atonement, and thus acting as our propitiation;[3] and that the Eucharistic memorial is a form of such pleading, inasmuch as He is in an especial manner present in the Eucharist, and if present must be present as the Lamb.[4] I once found great help, as to the Presence, from thinking of the unique character among Christian ordinances ever assigned to the Eucharist. If there is no special presence, then Holy Communion is only one of several means of communicating, and 'Body and Blood' means only a large amount of grace.

[1] 1 Cor. x. 16 *sqq.*; xi. 23 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 144, note *f*, and his hymn, 'Once, only once, and once for all' (A. and M., 315).

[3] *Cf.* The Comfortable Words, 'He *is* the propitiation for our sins' (1 John ii. 2).

[4] *Cf.* The Gloria in Excelsis, 'O Lamb of God, that *takest* away,' etc.

To the Rev. ——, in reply to questions on points of doctrine, for an intended catechism.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
April 26, 1897.

I suppose your questions and answers are meant for educated people. The doctrine of the second Adam, as one may call it, is best stated, perhaps, in Prebendary Sadler's book[1] bearing that name (probably you have consulted it), or in his excellent *Church Teacher's Manual.* Or Wilberforce on *The Doctrine of Incarnation*, c. xiii., will put things in a good light.

The Apostles' Creed was, I suppose, so called from the notion which appears in some sermons wrongly ascribed to St. Augustine,[2] that the Apostles severally composed its clauses. It is curious that the earliest complete Western Creed is in Greek. Epiphanius[3] gives one which Marcellus of Ancyra recited as a proof of his orthodoxy, and which was the Creed of the Roman Church of that time. It is the Apostles' Creed in a somewhat shorter form.

I suppose the distinction to be taken between our partaking of Christ in Baptism and our partaking of Him through His Body and Blood in the Eucharist is that the recipient of Baptism is incorporated into Christ's Body mystical, which is

[1] *The Second Adam and the New Birth.*

[2] *Sermones supposititii*, CCXL., CCXLI., *ap.* Aug., *Opera*, tom. v., App., coll. 394 *sqq.*

[3] *Haereses*, lxxii. 3; and see it in Swete, *The Apostles' Creed*, p. 105 (ed. 1894).

itself formed and sustained by His Body and Blood, but that he does not directly come into spiritual contact with the Body and Blood till he communicates. Why does he need such contact? What is the rationale of this further privilege? Must we not find it in the Incarnation? The Word became flesh, as for other reasons so for this, that His flesh, being the 'flesh of God the Word who is the Life-giver,'[1] may become a medium of imparting a fresh energy of Spiritual life to believers. As it has an efficacy which no other 'flesh' could have, so it has power of contact or of presence which belong to no other. These powers are exercised, this efficacy is imparted, in the Eucharist. I think, then, that although the phrase 'Sacred Humanity' is quite sound, yet one might add a little by way of bringing out the idea of a mysterious participation of the sacred Body and Blood of Christ, present or imparted under conditions belonging to their Spiritualized or glorified state, and this for the purpose of sustaining Spiritual life in the whole being of the faithful or devout receivers. I am sure that the best way of removing or lessening difficulties as to the Eucharistic Presence is by linking it as closely as possible to the Incarnation, regarded as in order to the sustentation of Spiritual life in Christians. This will help people to see how those great verses in John vi. are the legitimate carrying out of John i. 14-16, and to see, that is, that not Christ's Spirit only, or His grace, has a function in regard to their Spiritual life, but His Body and Flesh also, as being His.

[1] *Cf.* S. Cyrilli 3 *Ep. ad Nest.*, § 7 *ap.* Heurtley, p. 192.

To the Rev. ——, on the objections of Dissenters to Infant Baptism.

Blackheath Park,
August 15, 1865.

The difficulty made about *I will*[1] is, I suppose, an old one among the prejudiced. Curiously enough, the promise of keeping the Commandments was not in the old Baptismal Office, but one may understand the *I will* by observing that it must have been intended to have the same sense as in the Ordinal, where it appears to be more or less uniformly a translation of *volo*. It therefore has the sense of *volo* in Baptism. 'My intention, desire,' etc., 'is to do so'; and, of course, 'the Lord helping me' must be understood.

I sent you yesterday a little tract which I found at Masters', by the schoolmaster of Middleham, who had been once at St. Bee's. It may have something which would meet in a homely way the difficulties of Bucks villagers. I should always be disposed to rest infant Baptism principally on the act of our Lord towards the infants.[2] Thus, (1) that act shows infants, as such, to be fit suscipients of Christ's blessing; (2) but Baptism is the appointed medium of Christ's blessing; (3) therefore infants, as such, are fit to be baptized. Of course, the difficulty with many people is, that they do not realize No. 2, the minor premiss, as it

[1] In answer to 'Wilt thou then obediently,' etc., in the *Public Baptism of Infants*.

[2] Mark x. 13 *sqq*.

were. However, I am sure that this is the most attractive argument, and one which puts Baptism into the most Spiritual light, and brings it closer to our Lord's Person. Another argument which would tell less with modern English people is that which, as one knows, was so present to the mind of St. Augustine[1]—the fact that infants, being in original sin, need Baptism as a remedy. Unhappily, people's sense of the Fall and of the inherited corruption is so vague. Herein, and on the whole subject, I think Sadler[2] would be very helpful. I rejoice that your christenings increase. Is it not a beautiful service to perform?

* * * * *

I suspect a great many people think the whole idea of sacerdotalism is equivalent to a belief in charms, not seeing that we regard the sacramental acts as acts of Christ.

[1] St. Augustine, as Dr. Bright used to say in lecture, 'often quoted the classical passage' from St. Cyprian: 'Porro autem si etiam gravissimis delictoribus . . . remissa peccatorum datur et a baptismo atque gratia nemo prohibetur: quanto magis prohiberi non debet infans, qui recens natus nihil peccavit, nisi quod secundum Adam carnaliter natus, contagium mortis antiquæ prima nativitate contraxit?'—Cypr., *Ep.* lxiv., § 5 (*Opera*, ii., p. 720, ed. Hartel). *Cf.* Aug., *Contra duas Epp. Pel.*, § 23 (*ap.* Bright, *Anti-Pelagian Treatises*, p. 368); and *Sermo* CCXCIV., § 19 (*Opera*, tom. v., col. 1193D).

[2] *The Sacrament of Responsibility*; or, *Church Doctrine, Bible Truth*, pp. 87 *sqq.* (ed. 1886).

To the Rev. ——, on Lay Baptism.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September 18, 1889.

I have often felt a theoretical difficulty in the recognition of Baptism by those who have not received a commission from the Apostles by the channel historically existing in the Church. I have usually fallen back on the authority of Church tradition, as warranting this great distinction between the administration of Baptism and the administration of the Eucharist. I would not rest it on the fact that the Eucharist is sacrificial, therefore sacerdotal; for there are other rites, not sacrificial, which we should yet hold to be purely invalid and null, if taken in hand by a person not duly qualified by ordination or consecration. It is important to recollect that in our own Church—at least, from the time of Archbishop Theodore to the Reformation—Baptism by any Christian in case of necessity was allowed. And as no direct withdrawal of the permission has been made by Church authority since the Reformation, we can, at any rate, plead that in regarding Baptism by an unordained person as valid, when a regular ministration was (for reasons which in equity might be allowed) not attainable, we are walking in the ancient traditional path. To be sure, it may be said, 'The case of a Dissenter is *not* the case of a person who really has no access to a duly ordained minister.' But considerations of equity come in, which are complicated by the various moral, though

not physical, barriers which tradition and education and lifelong habits have formed between the Dissenter and his parson's ministrations. Of course in recognising the validity of Baptism with right Matter and Form administered in a sect, we are not recognising the validity of the ministry of that sect. It is nothing to the purpose whether the member of the sect called in his own 'minister' or baptized the child with his own hand.

I do not care for Tertullian's argument in favour of lay Baptism in case of necessity, that anyone can 'give what he has received.'[1] In fact, I think it worthless, as proving too much, and assuming that the person received the gift with a power to hand it on.

I should rest on tradition—especially tradition as embodied for so many ages in the law and usage of the English Church, without any subsequent express contradiction. Of course, one knows that in James I.'s time care was taken to accentuate the importance of a duly ordained minister's presence, even at a private Baptism.[2] But our Church has never ruled that Baptism by an unordained person is *ipso facto* void. And, of course, there is no middle path. Baptism is either valid or void. It may be as irregular as you like, but still valid, in the sense of not being capable of iteration.

Roman Catholics rebaptize 'converts,' not because they do not admit the validity of Baptism

[1] *Tert. de Baptismo*, c. 17 (*Opera*, i., p. 635, ed. Oehler).

[2] *Cf.* Procter and Frere, *A New History of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 142 (ed. 1901).

by ministrations which they do not recognise, but because they affect to think that there is no real guarantee of the due employment of Matter and Form among us 'careless Anglicans.' Their practice is meant as a blow of polemical hostility directed against our Church. They must hold that, if they were assured that an Anglican had baptized a child with due Form and Matter, they could not baptize such child *de novo* without sacrilege. For this is, in effect, the standing law of their Church. St. Thomas (*Summa*, III. lxvii. 3) grounds his decision in favour of Baptism by anyone in case of necessity on the absolute necessity of Baptism, and the Divine mercy which provides 'ut in his quæ sunt de necessitate salutis, homo de facili remedium inveniat.' I suppose we should not hold the absolute necessity quite so strongly as he did; we should admit the qualification *where it may be had*.[1] This, perhaps, deducts somewhat from our own use of his argument. The legend about Athanasius and the children is to me extremely doubtful.[2] And even if it were not, one recognition of that kind by one Bishop would not make a Church rule. The sensible view of sacramental intention implies that there shall be a real purpose on the officiant's part to do what the Church does (see Hooker, V. lviii. 3, 'seriously'), and that the purpose of playing or joking excludes *primam rectitudinem* (*intentionis*), as St. Thomas

[1] *Cf.* The Ministration of Baptism to such as are of Riper Years.

[2] Rufinus, *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 14; *cf.* Dr. Bright's article 'Athanasius' in *D.C.B.*, i., pp. 179 *sq.*

Aquinas says.[1] He does not confine this exclusion to cases where such making fun is openly avowed.

To the Rev. Canon Medd, on the position of Dissenters with regard to the Church and conditional Baptism.

January 22, 1896.

I have seen somewhere (and somehow I connect it with *you*) a good statement of the principle that, while all baptized members of the sects or other communities of Protestants are, *quâ* baptized, members of the historical Catholic Church, it does not follow that the organized religious bodies to which they belong are properly parts of that Church. . . . The Archbishop [Benson] has asked me to write a paper on the term 'Catholic,'[2] a most delicate bit of work, fraught with not a little anxiety. If you can help me, pray do so.

* * * * *

[*November* 23, 1892.]

It seems to me that those who, like ——, are advocating conditional Baptism in the case of a doubt, not as to a matter of fact, but as to a theological opinion, are taking a great liberty with the rubric. The Church provides a form of con-

[1] *Summa*, III. lxiv. 1 ad 2.

[2] Bright, *What is the Proper Use of the Word 'Catholic' as applied to Christian Communities or Individuals?* (S.P.C.K., January, 1897).

ditional Baptism expressly in one case, where doubts may exist, independently of all varieties of theological theory, as to whether certain things were done and certain words said. Have they any warrant from the Church to use it when they have not satisfied themselves that such doubts may exist, but simply to satisfy a theory of lay Baptism?

To the Rev. ——, on Eucharistic Adoration.

MANCHESTER,
January 10, 1857.

The point is, Can we assent to the principle of interpretation contained in the Bath Judgment[1] [in the case of Archdeacon Denison]? I deeply regret that the point of 'adoration' was so prominently urged; but, since it has been put forward, I cannot think Denison's view wrong. That principle I take to be this, so far as adoration is concerned, that Article XXVIII.'s proscription of Transubstantiation may be construed as equivalent to a condemnation of the Real Presence. Without some such canon as this, I cannot imagine how the Court deduced the condemnation of such worship as Denison pleaded for from the premisses to which it alone referred, Article XXVIII.

[1] *Cf. Proceedings against the Archdeacon of Taunton in* 1854-6, p. 209 and p. 225 (Masters, 1857).

To the Rev. ——, *on a* visible Presence.

University College, Oxford.
[*No date.*]

Mr. Bennett's expression as to a *visible* Eucharistic Presence[1] (on which you comment in the last *Guardian*) is surely one to which he would not deliberately adhere,[2] and to which no English Churchman could be expected to assent. You say most truly, 'English Divines have not been accustomed to write of a visible Presence.' So far from it, that the maintainers of what is commonly called the doctrine of an 'objective' Presence, or, as it used to be called, a Presence *extra usum*, have made a point of asserting that Presence to be utterly impervious to the senses, invisible, intangible, immaterial. Dr. Pusey made this perfectly clear in his University Sermon on *The Presence of Christ in the Holy Eucharist*,[3] published in 1853. He spoke repeatedly of 'the unseen Presence,' pp. 13, 25, and of the Fathers as holding 'that there was a real and visible substance, which was the image and symbol of the *present* spiritual, invisible substance,' p. 39. Archdeacon Denison, in his sermon of the same year, spoke of

[1] 'The visible presence of our Lord upon the altars of our churches' was Mr. Bennett's expression, condemned by Sir R. Phillimore's Judgment in the Court of Arches, as reported in *The Guardian* of July 27, 1870.

[2] He withdrew it, and substituted: 'The real and actual presence of our Lord under the form of bread and wine upon the altars of our churches' (Bennett, *A Plea for Toleration*, preface, p. iii., 3rd edn., Hayes, 1868).

[3] Pusey, University Sermons, vol. i.

the Presence as 'real, though invisible.' To quote other writings is surely needless. But one may refer to a very recently published work, the Bishop of Brechin's *Explanation of the Thirty-nine Articles*, which speaks of Article XXVIII. as denying such a change as would imply 'that the visible sign of That which is invisible should have no real existence,'[1] and quotes St. Thomas Aquinas as saying that 'substance is discerned by the intellect alone, and not by sense.'[2] A little further on the Bishop characterizes the Eucharistic Presence as 'absolutely supernatural: what is heavenly and spiritual cannot be liable to the laws of physics.'[3] He adds that 'only in an improper sense may we say that the Body of Christ is broken,'[3] which is equivalent to saying that only in such a sense may it be spoken of as seen.

There can surely be no sort of doubt, that it was in this 'improper' sense that Mr. Bennett spoke of the Presence as 'visible.' We may well regret that, in a sentence which spoke of it as 'real' and 'actual' (words which must have been used in their 'proper' sense), he applied to it a term which cannot be used of it with propriety according to any Eucharistic conception established in any part of the Church. For instance, a theological proposition affirming a 'visible' presence would certainly be at variance with the formularies of the Roman Communion. It would contradict the rhythmus of St. Thomas, which is appended in the Missal to the prescribed devotions

[1] Forbes, *Explanation*, etc., p. 551 (ed. 1881).
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 556. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 562.

of a celebrant: 'Visus, tactus, gustus, in te fallitur. . . . Quem velatum nunc aspicio.' It would contradict the *Lauda Sion*: 'Quod non capis, quod non vides' ('Miss. Rom. in Fest. Corp. Christi'). It would contradict the Roman Catechism: 'Nulla extrinsecus panis et vini mutatio apparet' (II. iv. 18). 'Hoc in primis doceant pastores, animum atque rationem a sensibus omni studio avocandam esse. . . . Nihil aliud præter panis et vini speciem oculis . . . sentientes' (*ibid.*, 25). 'Corpus Domini, quod in Eucharistiâ occulte latet' (*ibid.*, 27). 'Christum . . . præsentem et tamen ab oculorum sensu remotum' (30; *cf.* 42, 'doceant Christum . . . in hoc sacramento ut in loco non esse'). It would also contradict the Council of Trent itself: 'Commune hoc quidem est SS. Eucharistiæ cum ceteris sacramentis, symbolum esse rei sacræ et invisibilis gratiæ formam visibilem' (Sess. 13, 'De Euch.,' c. iii.).

May we not, then, hope that a phrase which, in its proper sense, would be condemned by Rome herself will, in that sense, be frankly disavowed by one who for years has held so conspicuous a place among the working parish priests of England?

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on the Eucharistic Sacrifice.*

Christ Church,
December 29, 1871.

. . . In short, the doctrine of the Eucharistic presentation depending on the Eucharistic pre-

sence of the Body and Blood of Christ no more interferes with that essential truth [of the one sacrifice once offered] than does the doctrine of His presentation of Himself in heaven, inferred from some well-known passages[1] in the New Testament. In each case the 'presentation' is believed to follow from the presence, because the presence is that of Him who '*is* the propitiation':[2] in each case the absolute completeness of the atoning work done on the Cross is believed to be the very basis of the 'presentation,' which is held to be an appeal to, and a pleading of, the merits of that one atoning sacrifice. This is what Mr. Keble believed about the oblation or presentation in the Eucharist, as is plain from his well-known essay.[3] More than this, anything else than this, is not held, so far as any evidence goes, by any persons at all affected by the present suit. There is no one, we may trust, in the Church of England, who would admit, even in thought, the notion of a repetition of the one atoning sacrifice; who would not repudiate it absolutely, *ex animo*, in all senses and without reserve. In fact, those who hold what Mr. Keble held must needs regard such a notion as abhorrent, not less to their own conception of the Eucharistic oblation than to the position of the Cross as the foundation of Christian hope.

[1] Rom. viii. 34; Heb ix. 24. [2] 1 John ii. 2.
[3] *On Eucharistical Adoration.*

To the Rev. ——, in answer to two questions, as to (a) Article XXIX., (b) the best way to deal with a freethinking Theist.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September 6, 1888.

I am very glad to hear from you, but I confess that your questions are not of the easiest to answer.

However, as to (*a*) the first point: I do not think Article XXIX. is to be taken as one might take a proposition on that subject in a professedly Calvinistic formulary. It has to be read along with passages in the Prayer-Book which describe the unworthy communicant as 'receiving' the 'holy Mysteries' and the 'holy Communion.' And, in itself, it seems to use 'partakers of Christ' in a sense equivalent to what may be predicated of worthy communicants only—*i.e.*, a true spiritual union with our Lord, so as to dwell in Him and derive life from Him. This is the Scriptural import of 'partaking of Christ,' as Dr. Pusey urged in one of his books on the Real Presence.[1] And this is further illustrated by the antithesis between 'partaking of Christ' and something else which involves condemnation, for we thus see that 'partaking of Christ' must be an act which involves benediction. What the exact relation of the unworthy communicant to our Lord's Body and Blood may be, we do not seem to know. Some

[1] *The Real Presence the Doctrine of the English Church*, pp. 251 *sqq.*

have thought that the sacred Presence was withdrawn in their case, as it would be if the consecrated elements were subjected to any physical degradation. Dr. Pusey says that he did not (in a particular passage of an earlier book) venture to decide that point, but that afterwards he rejected this notion of withdrawal.[1] It is, anyhow, certain that in some way or other, such profaners of the Eucharist are 'guilty in regard to the Body and Blood.'[2]

(*b*) In the case of such a person as you describe, a freethinking Theist with vague socialistic tendencies, I should doubt whether there was enough knowledge of the New Testament—or, rather, specifically of the Gospels—for a due estimate of the argument from our Lord's character to His Divinity. That argument presupposes serious study of the discourses, and generally of the whole life, of Christ. I think that you might well postpone that inference for the present; he is not likely to be in a position to appreciate it. Try some simpler points first. Say you hope he will carefully read what our Lord says of Himself in the Gospels, and go on praying (as he says he does) for light. You might just hint that for us Churchmen, as for all Christians, the great matter of interest is to 'learn Christ,' to be in sympathy with His mind and will, to receive His word in fulness; only, it must be remembered, we must do so in fulness; we must not take a bit here, and leave a bit there, of the account given of Him in the Gospels. If we are honestly desirous of getting at

[1] *The Real Presence*, etc., pp. 306 *sq.* [2] 1 Cor. xi. 27.

the truth, we must be serious and thorough in our inquiry. Too many who admit that He was a good man or a holy man, or the like, do not take the trouble to fulfil this requirement. Meantime just change the subject a little, and ask him to look at the Sermon on the Mount. Does it not warn against hasty and uncharitable judgments? Does he know enough to condemn a whole class of his neighbours (who happen to be clergymen) as 'corrupt'? Is that condemnation Christ-like? Is it even consistent with an English love of justice? Would it be possible to one who had considered the facts? And as to the large incomes of Bishops, has he ever thought of what people exact from them, of the proportion which their contributions, or those of clergymen as a class, to religious objects, bear to the contributions of laymen? In a word, try to put before him gently and Socratically the thought that he has a good deal to learn about the facts before he accepts such statements, and that this sort of easy-going censoriousness is not consistent with a high morality. When you have suggested some such thoughts, you might let them simmer, and avoid theological discussions during the process. It seems to me that such a mind ought to be kept off theological and ecclesiastical ground until it is more familiar with moral.

To a student at a Theological College, in answer to difficulties as to whether the English Reformers believed in a Real Presence in the Holy Eucharist.

AMBLESIDE,
St. Peter's Day, 1898.

I am glad to receive your letter here. I return home on Friday, having come for a little change.

I should not myself have said that all the reformers in England agreed on the question of the sacramental presence. I feel sure that not a few were mere Zwinglians, and others held Calvinistic ideas, such as we now call Virtualistic. But as to these last, we must make some allowance; the term *real* seems to have been largely used in those days in the sense of what we should call natural, or corporeal, or material. I believe this was the sense put upon it in the Forty-two Articles. Persons did not see that they might hold a presence in the sense of an inscrutable association of the vital principles of our Lord's humanity with the elements as consecrated. They were, as it were, impelled in the Calvinistic direction by thinking that Transubstantiation—the popular notion of a natural presence, as we should say, a material one—and that Lutheran theory or way of speaking which seems to be bound up with ubiquitarianism, covered the whole ground on which any presence irrespective of the receiver's faith could be conceived of or held. And they shrank in their piety and reverence—their wish to

attach a great virtue to the Eucharist—from the merely figurative or simply commemorative theory of the Zwinglians.

So they took up with language which seemed reverential, but which when examined deprived the Eucharist of all uniqueness, by making 'the Body and Blood' stand for the virtue of the Passion, imparted to the soul in the act of devout communion in fuller measure than by other religious acts.

I did correct one oversight of 'theology' for 'religion,' but I must have left the one at p. 39 uncorrected. I know I thought the book might have been more fitly described as 'Lectures on Theology.'[1]

Pusey's 'Eirenicon' was prompted originally by love for Newman; he could hardly bear to be out of Church fellowship with his beloved friend.

I greatly like the 'History of Early Christianity.'[2]

To the Rev. ——, on Hooker's Eucharistic Doctrine.

Christ Church, Oxford,
June 25, 1899.

. . . It is clear that Hooker was writing while Calvin's influence was still upon him, and that his language, so far, represents a transitional state of mind. I suspect that he did not see that the Calvinistic view really tended to destroy belief in

[1] L. Pullan, *Lectures on Religion.* [2] By the same.

the uniqueness of the Eucharistic gift, in that it used language of a high type as to that uniqueness without giving it full reality of meaning, and that it encouraged a lax use of theological terms. In one passage Hooker calls attention away from everything but 'the benefit we have of the Sacrament.'[1] This is hardly compatible with the subsequent distinction drawn in the Catechism between 'the inward part' and 'the benefits'; or, rather, it merges 'the inward part' in 'the benefits.' And one is struck with the calm assumption of a parallelism between 'curious and intricate speculations' or needless queries, such as 'Rabbi, when camest thou hither?' and the inevitable question, 'Is the Sacrament constituted by consecration, or by faith on the part of the recipient?' Of course, that question can be entangled and cumbered with wranglings and subtleties, and so was the question of the Incarnation itself; but it cannot be ignored: it will present itself.

[*July* 23, 1899.]

There is in the Eucharistic sections some language which is quite satisfactory, if it stood alone, as recognising the efficacy of consecration. But, with all one's reverence for Hooker himself . . . I must say deliberately that I think the sentence italicized[2] in ordinary editions of Hooker, and containing what he proposes as an adequate comment on our Lord's words, would not, to any ordinary reader, suggest that he believed in any real presence of our Lord's humanity as distinct

[1] *Cf. Eccl. Pol.*, V. lxvii. 3. [2] *Ibid.*, § 12.

from the benefits or effects of His Incarnation and death. Did Hooker mean by 'the Body and Blood' the essence or life-principle of our Lord's humanity? He does not, I fear, encourage one in the passage or sentence in question to be sure that he did. Could anyone who held what we hold have been content to write that sentence, as it stands, and leave it? Did he, one may ask, believe that what we hold to become ineffably, and apart from material or physical conditions, associated with the elements by virtue of consecration, was imparted to the devout recipient when the elements entered his lips? If he did believe this, I cannot but think that he expressed himself unfortunately. Nine readers out of ten . . . would construe the sentence (on which we have a fair right to insist as central and crucial) as meaning that 'the inward part' of the Eucharist = 'the benefits whereof we are partakers thereby.' One must not forget that he was dead when that part of the Catechism was published. . . . Can we make his words equivalent to its teaching? I, at any rate, cannot honestly think so.

[*July* 24, 1899.]

After I had written my letter [of July 23], it occurred to me—in further illustration of the point—that Hooker was really unfair (though, no doubt, unconsciously so) in assuming that all discussion as to whether the Sacrament was 'first' (*i.e.*, antecedently to reception) 'possessed with Christ or no'[1] must needs be 'hungry and unpleasant,'[2]

[1] *Eccl. Pol.*, V. lxvii. 6. [2] *Ibid.*, § 12.

with several other depreciatory adjectives to follow. It was, and it is, inevitable that the question should be raised, 'Does the consecration make the Sacrament? What is the force of St. Paul's words, "the cup which we bless, the bread which we break"?'[1] In effect, to ask his readers to put that question aside is to decline any attempt to interpret some very momentous New Testament words. This will never do. It is hardly loyal to Scripture, and it certainly would not close a discussion. The practical result is that Hooker has been, and is, freely quoted, as if he had positively affirmed that the Sacrament was constituted simply by devout reception. It is his own fault if this does his real meaning a wrong. Contrast his language with that of

> 'Christ was the Word that spake it:
> He took the bread and brake it;
> And what the Word did make it,
> That I believe, and take it,'

which Bishop Creighton has recently described as an epigram of high theological value.

To the Rev. ——, on Sacerdotalism.

University College,
July 29, 1865.

Colenso, you see, has prepared to start for Natal. He tells a meeting of sympathizers that some clergy and laity there will support him, as representing Protestantism and the Queen's

[1] 1 Cor. x. 16.

supremacy against 'sacerdotalism.' How there can be supremacy without Establishment, one doesn't see. But one does see, that it is rather in our favour that he identifies himself with what he calls the carrying out of Protestant principles, and that he considers 'sacerdotalism,' or Catholicism, as the great barrier in his way. All unbelievers have ever found it so, for it makes religion a thing solid and substantive. Again, his flagrant Erastianism, 'preferring the Queen to any Bishop or Metropolitan,' etc., is significant. He must put the world above the Church ; for, in fact, he has no Church before his mind, no belief in any kingdom of God. Spiritual realities are to him obsolete.

To the Rev. ——, on Absolution and Sacerdotalism.

University College,
January 31, 1867.

I assume at the outset that the Ordination Service, and specially the actual words of ordination, cannot be reduced to a conventional formula without involving the Church which uses them in the guilt of a most profane abuse of language. . . . We have no business, morally, so to tamper with words, and to do so in this case would be a grave offence against religious seriousness.

The words, then, must have a real and solemn significance ; but that significance does not imply, (1) generally, any such notion of the ministry, or of the Christian life, as abates personal responsi-

bility, or ignores the sacred rights and privileges of all baptized Christians; nor (2), specially, the notion that private confession and absolution are ordinary necessities of the Christian soul.

1. As to the first point: Some of the most earnest upholders of the principle of a priesthood have been as earnest in asserting what is called 'the universal priesthood of Christians,' in a true sense.[1] That sacred character of all the baptized co-exists with the special functions of a consecrated order; the sacerdotal ministry does not exclude or eclipse either the supreme priesthood of Christ, on the one hand, or the fact that He has made His people priests on the other. The ministry represents each of these, brings each of these face to face with the other, is an organ and instrument for each. Similarly, it would be a perversion of the sacerdotal idea if it were made the basis of a spiritual despotism. The priesthood is not ordained to tyrannize over the faithful, any more than it is designed to do their religion for them. Wonderful, surely, is the context of St. Luke xii. 42-46! Our Lord has been affirming the principle of a priesthood, or body of 'stewards,' through whom the Head of the family dispenses the 'portions' of food. Then He warns the stewards of what will happen if any of them begin to 'beat the servants'—*i.e.*, to establish a spiritual tyranny.

2. As to the second point: I believe that the public absolutions of the Church are just as valid as the private ones, although they do not so

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 99, note *h*; and *Sermons of St. Leo*, p. 203, for examples.

pointedly bring home the Divine forgiveness to the consciousness of A or B, and although, in some cases, the private absolution may be highly desirable, as is implied in the Visitation Office. I frankly admit that, not only Roman Catholics, but some in our own Church, hold private confession to be necessary as an ordinary duty. This notion would, no doubt, be a very great obstacle to the acquiescence of English people in the Ordination Service, if it were implied in that service; but I feel certain that it is not. Compare what is said in the Exhortation before Holy Communion, and in the Visitation Office, and also the authoritative tone of reality and validity which belongs to the public Absolution.

Clearing away, then, these probable grounds of objection—premising, that is, that the Ordination Service does not involve two opinions or ideas which are likely to give great offence—I came to consider the difficulty which you suggest as to the unlikelihood of general acquiescence on the part of the English people in the ordination formula, and in the Catholic conception of the ministry. . . .

Well, first of all, can one help remembering how Scripture repeatedly warns the messenger of God that he must not look for general acquiescence? Surely, the language held in the second and third chapters of Ezekiel is very striking. I think it, and language like it, a strong internal corroboration of the truth of Scripture. It does not flatter its ministers with hopes of complete success; it does not view men through a roseate medium; it tells us that He, who was the Incarnate Truth,

was set for 'the falling,' as well as for 'the rising,' of others, and that 'the servant is not greater than his Lord.' Opposition, then, to a doctrine or principle, on the part of the many who have not seriously and religiously considered it, is certainly no proof of its not being a thing to contend for; nor is it, I think, a reason for not undertaking to stand by it in one's clerical life.

But to come closer. Is it to the mere idea of a priesthood (that is, of a body of human agents, through whose ministry our Lord bestows certain Spiritual gifts, just as He also bestows them, in another sense, through the ordinances which they administer) that popular objections exist? Or is it not, rather, true that the objections take a much wider range? The sort of tone taken in newspapers, and in other expressions of ordinary public opinion, is, I fear, indicative of something much deeper. The opposition is to the whole conception of a supernatural order, of a Spiritual kingdom of Christ—in some quarters (I am afraid one cannot help saying it), to the present working of a living God.

People object to 'Sacerdotalism' too often on grounds which, if they were consistent—which, happily, they often are not—would carry them very much further. Dependence on the mediation and on the government of Christ; faith in the efficacy of prayer; belief that He is really at work in, and for, and with His people, in ways distinctly supernatural and Spiritually miraculous; recognition of the tremendous facts of the New Testament, as being, every day and all day long, fruitful

in issues for the human race and every individual of it—are not all these things lacking very seriously in the popular mind? And is not a great deal of its hostility to a particular expression of the supernaturalist principle traceable, virtually, to a more or less conscious uneasiness as to the principle itself? For my part, I always long to ask people who deal in popular talk about 'Sacerdotalism,' whether they have lately read, in a thoughtful and realizing spirit, the Gospel of St. John and the Epistle to the Ephesians, and whether they agree with them.

Nobody is more conscious than I am, that some opposition to 'Sacerdotalism' is of a very different nature; that it proceeds from a really Christian jealousy for Christ's honour and His people's rights; that it has been provoked by 'sacerdotalist' exaggerations, or by the presentation of what I hold to be truth under a garb which (to say the least) does not connect it with spiritual needs and with Christ's Person and work. So presented it *must* repel, and it must, even if accepted by the poor, be, as you say, associated with superstition or something like it. Doubtless; but what then? Surely it follows that we ought to amend the mistakes made in so presenting it. Look at Sadler's *Church Doctrine*, *Bible Truth*, and you will see how well those mistakes can be avoided.

I would not seem to be unjust or inconsiderate towards the class of minds to which you refer as those of 'hard-headed men of business.' Only, can we help fearing that, on many points beside that of the priesthood or the sacraments, they are

out of rapport with the atmosphere (so to speak) of such a Christianity as we find glowing and energizing in the pages of the New Testament? Have they not, on all sorts of points connected with the perpetual Presence and scrutiny of God, the Fall, the Incarnation, the Redemption, the ineffable, infinite Future, the immeasurable superiority of unseen interests over temporal ones—have they not, think you, much to learn? May He who, being the Eternal, condescended to work in a carpenter's shop, and chose a man of hard, prosaic business for the first of His evangelists, lead the honest souls among them onward, upward, Christward!

Secularism, in one form or another, is the great foe of Christianity just now in England. If we find it opposing the 'Catholic view' of the Church, we find it also opposing, directly or indirectly, other doctrines on which all hearty Christians agree.

The lesson of this is (I think) not to give up hope, but to be careful, in humble imitation of St. Paul's spirit, to present truth in such forms as shall, while faithfully preserving it, avoid, as much as possible, the putting a stumbling-block in a brother's way. I am sure that this can be done as well in regard to the priesthood or sacraments, rightly viewed, as in regard to special providence, or probation in this world, or the need of grace, or the offices of our Lord.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on the term* Sacerdos.

October 18, 1877.

. . . The main point . . . consists in the deliberate retention by the revisers of our formularies of the English word 'priest,' which was then, as from the first, the received equivalent[1] for a *presbyter*, who, as such, was a *sacerdos*—*i.e.*, whose office was sacerdotal. This retention is the more significant because the word had been even associated with popular corruptions of the sacerdotal idea. The argument sometimes drawn from the etymology of a term, for the purpose of nullifying the actual sense which its history has affixed to it, is notoriously untrustworthy. At that rate, 'seigneur' might be reduced to a mere synonym for 'elder brother.' The term 'priest,' moreover, was from its very outset used with a sacerdotal meaning; and the term *sacerdos* itself, if we look merely to its derivation, might be adopted, from his own point of view, by any Presbyterian or Congregationalist minister, as being 'one given to sacred things.' . . .

Much might be done towards removing misconceptions or suspicions, if all who contend for 'the sacerdotal theory of the ministry' (as it has been styled) would take care to say with all

[1] On the retention and the meaning of 'priest' in the English Bible and Formularies, see *Responsio Archiepiscoporum Anglie*, p. 25; and Bishop John Wordsworth, *Responsio ad Batavos*, p. 13 (Brown and Co., Salisbury, 1894).

distinctness that they regard the Christian minister in his 'priestly' capacity, as, on the one hand, in Dr. Pusey's golden words, 'not instead of, but the instrument of' Christ; and, on the other hand, the Divinely-appointed organ of the 'collective priestliness' of the baptized and communicant 'people.'

[*October* 25, 1877.]

. . . If it is contended that the use of 'minister' or 'presbyter' along with *sacerdos* deprives the latter term of its received meaning, this must be grounded on some antithesis between that term and the other two. But, as far as Biblical language goes, there is no such antithesis; the force of the phrase 'a minister of Christ'[1] is illustrated in a sermon on 'The Christian Ministry' in Newman's *Parochial Sermons*, ii., pp. 300 *sqq.* And while there is nothing to indicate that the title of 'presbyter' is inconsistent with functions which, in a true and sound sense, may be called 'sacerdotal,' it is striking to see how the two terms and their cognates are united, as if thoroughly consistent, in the great sacramentaries of the Western Church —Leonine, Gelasian, Gregorian. *E.g.*, 'Quos ad *presbyterii* munus elegit . . . super hos . . . gratiæ sacerdotalis effunde virtutem' (Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, i., col. 424). Some persons, probably, would be surprised to find 'presbyteral' terms employed fourteen times, interchangeably with 'sacerdotal,' in the present Roman 'Ordinatio Presbyteri.'

[1] Λειτουργὸς Χριστοῦ (Rom. xv. 16).

[*November* 15, 1877.]

. . . For such an antithesis I see no foundation in Scripture, or in the ancient documents of the Church of Christ.

1. None as to 'presbyter'; for while that term by itself would not involve any proper ministerial character, it is quite compatible with the notion of a 'priestly' character attaching to that minister of Christ whom it was used to describe; the rather that, if one goes back to patriarchal ages, there seem reasons to associate priestly functions with the elder brother or first-born son. And I have already called attention to the free and natural manner in which the ancient Western sacramentaries combine 'sacerdotal' terms with 'presbyteral.'

2. None as to 'minister'; for in the New Testament our Divine High Priest, Himself the one true *Agens Principalis* in all Church ministrations,[1] is called by both the names which may be treated as the originals of 'minister.' He 'became a διάκονος περιτομῆς' (Rom. xv. 8), and He is 'τῶν ἁγίων λειτουργὸς, called so just after and just before He is called ἀρχιερεὺς (Heb. viii. 1-3). As to λειτουργὸς, indeed, its close connection with 'sacerdotal ideas' in the Septuagint is well known, and we have warrant from Acts xiii. 2 for applying it, in a sacred official sense, to the minister of the New Dispensation. No doubt there is a special ecclesiastical use of 'minister' for the deacon who

[1] *Cf.* S. Thomas Aq., *Summa* III. lxiv. 1, and Bright, *Lessons from the Lives*, etc., app. xviii., p. 287.

'attends on' the Bishop or presbyter; but that cannot be the sense in which it is used for the Christian minister in general, and *ministerium* is repeatedly used in the ancient ritual books, so as to include the function of the Bishop himself—*e.g.*, Leonine Sacramentary, 'Consecratio Episcoporum': 'His famulis tuis, quos ad summi sacerdotii *ministerium* delegisti'[1]; and further on, 'ad sacerdotale *ministerium*.'

The non-use of ἱερεὺς in the New Testament for the Christian minister has been naturally accounted for by the necessity of avoiding confusion between the Jewish and Christian ministries, while the former was still *de facto* extant. Compare Mr. Carter's treatise on *The Doctrine of the Priesthood*, p. 120 (ed. 1857); to which, moreover, I should like to refer for admirable expositions of the relation between 'the only High Priest by nature' and those by whom He acts, pp. 99-103, 129.

. . . One might observe that 'minister' is repeatedly used in the Canons of 1604 for a 'clergyman in full orders,' to adopt a somewhat old-fashioned phrase—*e.g.*, Canon 32, (None to be made Deacon and Minister both in one day). 'The office of deacon being a step or degree to the *ministry*,' etc. But literally *sacerdotum*, in the Latin title of Article XXXII., includes all the three orders. On this I have already cited Sir W. Palmer [*Treatise on the Church*, ii., p. 347, ed. 3]. The true account of the case is that such a use of *sacerdotes* does not deprive the presbyter

[1] Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.* i., col. 422; *cf.* Duchesne, *Origines du culte chrétien*, p. 347 (ed. 1889).

of 'sacerdotal' functions, but invests the deacon with some share in them. See Bingham, *Antiquities*, II. xix. 15; not to mention Hickes, *Christian Priesthood*, c. ii., § 4 (vol. ii., p. 32, 'Angl. Cath. Lib.'). See also Carter on the *Priesthood*, p. 33. But the main point consists in the deliberate retention in the English service of the English word 'priest,' linked closely as it was to the 'sacerdotal' idea.

To a candidate for Holy Orders, on the Christian Ministry.

CHRIST CHURCH,
Tuesday before Easter, 1896.

Just a word or two on the great subject to which you refer. Lightfoot's essay seemed to me, when I read it long ago, to be written under an 'anti-sacerdotalist' bias:[1] I remember making some rather full notes on the subject. But you may be aware that he has repeatedly protested against what he held to be perversions of its import. These passages, which are of great interest, are quoted all together[2] in the posthumous volume of his *Dissertations on the Apostolic Age*, pp. 241 *sqq*. In one of them he says that he was 'scrupulously anxious not to overstate the evidence in any case.' Repeatedly does he aver that he

[1] *Cf.* Moberly, *Ministerial Priesthood*, Preface, p. vii. (ed. 1897).

[2] The Essay and additional notes are now published together in a small volume.—Lightfoot, *The Christian Ministry*, 1901.

believes the Episcopate to have come down (as the Preface to the Ordinal states) 'in unbroken continuity from the Apostolic times,' etc. I cannot but think, however, that to treat the question as one simply of 'polity' or 'administration' is to deprive it of its main interest for members of the household and kingdom of Christ. It is to give an advantage to those who, like the late Edwin Hatch, disparage 'organization' as external, mechanical, and, in a Spiritual sense, quite secondary. As long as we look at 'organization' (in the case of Christ's kingdom on earth) in this dry and formal manner, we shall not, I conceive, appreciate either the principle of ordination or the 'claims' of Episcopacy *versus* Congregationalism, or *versus* Presbyterianism.

But as in Christianity there are no signs or ceremonies of Divine appointment which are not, in their several spheres, means of grace (for, were it otherwise, we should still be on a Judaical level), so a Christian ministry possessing Divine sanction must needs be a great deal more than a contrivance for 'administration' in the sense of 'government.' It must be a stewardship of grace and truth. And we know from Luke xii. 42, and other texts, that such a stewardship is a permanent necessary institution in the sacred 'household,' intimately bound up with its Spiritual interests, and that our Lord constituted such an office in the persons of His Apostles. Now, if we join on to this fact the other fact which Lightfoot not only admits, but affirms, the Apostolical origin of the Episcopate, we see at once where we stand. He

seems to have been somehow turned aside from the true 'sacerdotalism' by dread of the false. It is for us to distinguish between the false and the true, and to place the ministry in line with the other 'joints and bands' which sustain the life of 'the body.'[1] Of course (I need not say it), you would check Lightfoot's essay by Gore's book on *The Church and the Ministry*.

P.S.—From what I have said, you will see that the question of *esse* or of *bene esse*, in regard to the three Orders, runs up (as I view it) into the question of a permanent 'stewardship.' If that means 'priesthood,' we can't help it.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the Ministerial Commision.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
December 14, 1897.

I sometimes wonder whether I shall live to see a break-up of the old High Church body. It seems to be yielding, at point after point, to the undermining influence of principles and methods most difficult to harmonize with its fundamental idea and its native traditions. I have quite lately come across a fresh instance of this disintegrating process. A friend of mine, who I thought was with us in essentials, has given unhesitating expression (in a volume of the Church Historical Society's series[2]) to the theory that our Lord's

[1] Col. ii. 19; *cf.* Eph. iv. 16.
[2] Series III., p. 140 (S.P.C.K., 1897).

commission was addressed, not to the Apostles as an order, but to them as simply representing the 'Christian congregation.' This view cuts right to the heart of Church principles, for on this showing the Apostolic succession resides, not in any ministry, but in the body of the baptized as such ; and there is, properly speaking, no ministry of Christ, but a committee of delegates of the Christian people, of which idea, as far as I can see, St. Paul never gives the faintest trace. He, in fact, would be on this theory the only man in the Apostolic age who had a real commission from the Lord. The other Apostles would have had to take out new commissions from the people.[1] However, as Kidd said to me yesterday, Luke xii. 42 is sufficient to explode the theory, for it would require an absolute inversion of the terms of that text. Our Lord would have to accept stewards from the 'household,' not to 'set' his own stewards 'over' it.

To the Rev. B. J. Kidd, on the 'Committee Theory' of the Ministry.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
May 16, 1898.

I doubt not that you remember Keble's quotation, in the preface to Hooker, of Bishop Bilson's words (A.D. 1593), that the Apostles were recipients of the Power of the Keys; that 'the Church

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *The Law of Faith*, pp. 338 *sqq.*, and *Some Aspects*, etc., Address I.

received it from the Apostles, not the Apostles from the Church.'[1]

One hears the Church described as 'a living organism,' by way, I suppose, of intimating that no office within the Church had any origination independent of her will; that she was left to evolve institutions as she might see fit. Well, but are not we also living organisms? And should we be more so than we are, if we had been left to evolve hands and feet and eyes and ears this way or that, as might seem best to us individually, and diversely, according to our varying circumstances? And if the Church were left by Christ in this predicament, why did He Himself 'ordain' sacraments, instead of leaving her to do so? All these questions run up into the master-question: 'What is Christ's Person, and what was His work, and what did He intend with regard to the diffusion of grace as the result of both?' A worthy estimate of sacraments will carry with it a just view of ministry, whereas the 'committee theory' of ministry cannot fail to have its effect on our estimate of sacraments.

The explicit mention of 'stewards' in Luke xii. 42, and the implicit mention in Matt. xxiv. 45, informs us that there will be until the end an order of 'stewards' whom Christ Himself will 'set over his household' as a whole, His 'servants' as a body. The 'committee theory' would have us understand this to mean no more than that He will accept stewards appointed and empowered for Him by the whole body of His

[1] Hooker, *Eccl. Pol.*, vol. i., p. lxx (ed. Keble, 1841).

servants. Is this a natural interpretation? On that theory, also, one has to explain why, after the commission in John xx. 21, our Lord used language which must have conveyed to all His hearers the idea of a pastoral commission given to an Apostle as such by Himself (John xxi. 15). And it is also, on this view, perplexing to find the Twelve, after their number had been filled up by a direct act of Christ Himself, directing the whole Church (on this theory, the collective apostolate) to select the seven, but reserving to themselves (*i.e.*, to a mere committee) the right of commissioning them for their office.[1]

To an undergraduate, on Cambridge and Evangelicalism.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September 25, 1895.

The last place I stayed at during my five weeks' holiday was Cambridge. Have you ever paid your respects to 'our Aunt,' as Dean Stanley used to call that University? If not, pray take the first opportunity of doing so. The social life of Cambridge is a study of likenesses and unlikenesses when compared with our own, and the place itself, apart from its three supremely magnificent colleges, exhibits within a small compass a wonderful abundance of foliage, which made Newman once prefer it, in matter of beauty, to Oxford. I cannot go to that point. The

[1] Acts vi. 3.

charm of our gardens and groves is diffusive, as it were, while that of the Cambridge 'backs' is concentrated. When you have seen them, you have pretty well exhausted the natural amenity of the place.

I think I understand, practically, the uncertainties which you describe or indicate. They are slight by comparison of the terribly chaotic condition in which many of your contemporaries drift hither and thither, without any true conviction as to the primary ideas of religion worthy of the name. And let me suggest a point for your consideration. It is, I think, true that the difference between what is called the Evangelical view and what is called the Catholic, Sacramental or Ecclesiastical is not so mainly, by any means, as to the positive views of Evangelicalism, but as to the negative. Persons who hold what I, for instance, hold are altogether of one mind with the Evangelicals on such points as the reality of grace, the need of conversion for many who have been baptized as infants, the absolute dependence of all spiritual life and activity on the Person of our Lord, the purely instrumental character of ordinances, the hollowness of forms when bereft of Spirit. The zeal of Evangelicals for these truths is a zeal which we should wish to assimilate. We therefore (whatever some of them may think) have all this ground in common with them. Where we differ is as to the efficacy which, as we believe, our Lord has attached to ordinances rightly received. We think that they do not estimate it as fully as they might do; but, then, it

is, in our belief, not a power acting mechanically, but the application, so to speak, of His own Personal energy through media of His appointment. We endeavour to see Him operating through the sacraments or other ordinances, and through the ministry. We think that this view brings out the majesty and potency of the Incarnation and the Mediation ; a theory, or way of looking at the subject, which falls short of this seems to us to be, so far, stunted and maimed. You would see the view I am trying to indicate put forth with special force and clearness in the second of Law's Letters to Hoadly, which have been recently edited, with a preface by Gore.[1] But I will venture to lend you Sadler's volume called *Church Doctrine, Bible Truth*, which I think most helpful, for its lucid and Scriptural exposition of the connection between the sacramental principle and the idea of the Church on one hand, and spiritual aspirations and needs on the other. No writer in late years has done so much to clear the High Church view of these questions from the appearance of formalism, of dry antiquarianism, or of aloofness from the supreme question for each Christian soul : 'How can I best come into contact with Christ? How best appropriate the spiritual power of Christianity?' You may remember that Dr. Pusey always loved to dwell on the positive side of Evangelical teaching, and to think their theology defective rather than erroneous.

[1] See above, p. 85, n. 2.

To the same, on Evangelicalism and Fasting Communion.

Christ Church, Oxford,
October 6, 1895.

I cannot help answering your letter at once. I most fully agree with you as to the danger both of complacent formalism which may end in deadening all spiritual vitality, and of a quasi-Judaical multiplication of ecclesiastical requirements. It is a subject on which anyone might well dilate in addressing, say, a company of young Catholics. I have more than once, when preaching in the hearing, as I supposed, of some such persons, told them that the warning addressed to us by earnest Evangelicals as to the supremacy of Spirit over forms is not a thing to be superciliously put aside, but to be seriously considered and utilized. No doubt sacramentalism, to use one convenient term, can be abused, just as other true principles can be, in a world where 'noblest things find vilest using.' You may have heard—I used to hear—that a once-celebrated Congregationalist minister called baptismal regeneration a soul-destroying doctrine. At first, or for a long time, I did not understand what he meant. The denunciation seemed simply a wild outbreak of sectarian rancour. But one sees what he supposed the doctrine to imply—that, once baptized, all is safe; the sonship cannot be forfeited, etc. To us this seems an extravagance of misconstruction, but the peculiar sense which

the speaker, and others like him, put on 'regeneration' will go far to account for it. Catholic ideas or principles do, indeed, exclude so monstrous a notion of security as he was attacking, by their insistence on the need of regular and minute vigilance against sin. But we are all too prone to enjoy privileges, and only look sideways at responsibilities. And it was against this self-indulgent misuse of Church doctrine that the early Tractarians made so stern a protest, Pusey especially insisting much—it has been thought too much—on the dreadfulness of wilful sin in the baptized, but never too much on the need of a real turning to God whenever such sin had outraged grace. In his later years he certainly dwelt more than in earlier on the fulness of forgiveness for such sins on condition of repentance or conversion.

Then as to the other point you mention. I hate to hear fasting Communion urged as a matter of obligatory law, and that, perhaps, on the ground of mediæval canons, which our formularies do not allude to. Liddon used to urge it rather in the form of early Communion, and that, not mainly on the ground of ancient Church observances (though he did lay stress on this), but for the sake of the moral advantage of thus giving to our Lord the freshest thoughts of His own day, etc. Of late, as to this venerable and, as I believe, profitable usage (and also in regard, perhaps, to some others), a habit has grown up (which I deplore) of turning moral appeals or advice into a hard imperative requirement; and

this has actually been carried so far as to brand with actual sinfulness every act of non-fasting Communion, whatever may be the peculiarities of the case. I often wonder whether such persons seriously and quietly ask themselves whether our Lord would really wish all persons who must take some food before mid-day to go without Holy Communion for months because they cannot get to an early celebration. It is lamentable to see the substitution of the 'letter,' or mere command, for the 'Spirit,'[1] and the result will be, in too many cases, sheer revolt from a Church system which is thus misrepresented as a law in the Judaic sense. I wish all Ritualists, specially the younger, would take to studying St. Paul.

Prayers for the Departed.

[From letters to an Oxford guild, and from a private correspondence resulting from a discussion at a meeting of the Oxford Clerical Association, 1880-81.]

If it had not been for that unhappy Roman 'development' about purgatorial fire, we should not, I think, have had much difference of opinion or feeling on this question. . . . There can be no doubt that the custom of including the departed in the prayers of the faithful is of the most primitive antiquity, and that our particular way of making such prayers in connection with the Eucharistic Sacrifice, on anniversaries of death, is mentioned as among Church usages by Tertul-

[1] 2 Cor. iii. 6; Rom. ii. 29, vii. 6.

lian[1] about 200 A.D. . . . There is good reason to believe that this was among the practices of synagogue worship and of Jewish life when our Lord was upon earth. From the synagogue it passed over, naturally and as of course, into the Church, and, I cannot doubt, into the Church of Apostolic times. . . .

But to what end would the early Christian thus pray? I think he would have said: 'We cannot help doing so! But, as to what we specially intend, we pray that God would keep them, as we are sure He does, in His gracious care, and would give them all the blessings that their state admits of. It is a state of rest and light, but of imperfect happiness. We can pray that this rest and light may be increased; that 'white' robes may be given to the souls of the faithful, as they were in St. John's vision;[2] that the time of their final bliss may be hastened; and that they may be publicly accepted by Christ at the last day. Reasons enough here, if you believe as we believe, and love as we love.'

We must, of course, keep firmly in view these points:

1. That no prayers for the departed can in the least degree change the position of a soul in regard to that secret judgment which is passed upon it at the moment of death, or transfer it from a state of condemnation to a state of

[1] *Tert. de Corona Militis*, c. 3 (*Opera*, tom. i., p. 422, ed. Oehler); *cf.* Gwatkin, *Selections from Early Christian Writers*, p. 118 (ed. 1902).

[2] Rev. vi. 11.

grace. Rome herself never admits any such notion.

2. That, in remembering the souls which are departed in faith and in grace, we have nothing to do with any idea of obtaining their relief from suffering.

3. That we must be content with 'a light that is neither clear nor dark,'[1] with a certain dim indistinctness as to the good which we can effect by such prayers. Enough to believe that, in some way or other, we may contribute to increase the happiness of those prayed for.

* * * * *

It is only so far as prayer for the departed is made a sort of dogma, or, rather, a matter of obligation, that I demur. . . . I do not think that we can place the consideration of prayers for the dead in Christ on a firm dogmatic basis, because of our ignorance of the conditions under which such prayer might be operative. . . . The argument from silence [in Holy Scripture] is often precarious, but sometimes it has force. When a writer would, in all reason, have mentioned a point as germane to his subject, if he had had it in his mind; when a teacher might well be expected to recommend or urge a practice as intimately connected with his line of teaching on a particular occasion, had he regarded it as important in a practical sense, still more as a *duty*—then this argument begins to tell. And I cannot but think it significant that we are reduced to a rather uncertain inference from 2 Tim. i. 18 (a parenthetic wish or aspiration),

[1] Zech. xiv. 6.

and find no hint on the matter of praying for the departed in 1 Cor. xv. or in 1 Thess. iv. 13 *sqq.* . . . I find, too, in 1 Cor. xii. 12 *sqq.* . . . a long context on the relations of members of the Body [of Christ], but no word that bears the most distant reference to the dead. . . . Indeed, in our debate the other evening, I could not but feel that enough prominence was not given to that awful characteristic of death—awful, yet in some respects blessed—that it transfers the soul which departs in grace definitely and finally out of that sphere of spiritual probation which gives motive and energy to so much intercessory prayer.

Christianity must accept the disadvantage of not possessing a clear answer to some questions, which other systems despatch *ex cathedra*. This trial is as old as Manichæism or Gnosticism. People who are disappointed with the gaps and reserves of the Christian account of God's οἰκονομία[1] will say that Christianity falters. She must bear the imputation. She can but, as yet, see 'in a glass darkly.'[2]

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the Blessed Virgin Mary's acceptance of her Vocation.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 2, 1895.

I do not know Vernon Staley's book. That expression[3] which you refer to is surely *very* un-

[1] For a comment on the theological meaning of this term, see Bright, *Later Treatises of St. Athanasius*, p. 10, note b.

[2] 1 Cor. xiii. 12.

[3] *The Catholic Religion*, p. 172 (6th ed., 1895).

advised. The Blessed Virgin Mary's acceptance of the high vocation announced to her was but *ejusdem generis* with any other like act of loyal faith, with Isaiah's 'Here am I, send me,'[1] or with Saul's 'What wilt Thou have me to do?'[2] If Isaiah had taken his passage to Tarshish, if Saul had shaken himself and gone on to Damascus as an inquisitor, other agents would have been found for the Divine purpose; and so in regard to St. Mary. To isolate her submission as if it had been more decisive than other submissions—to imply that, if she had proved herself unworthy of the Annunciation, the Incarnation would not have taken place—is unsound as a matter of exegesis; and mischievous, as tending to the corruptions which we call Marianism, although we are sorry to have to use her name in describing what she would certainly deprecate, or, rather, would condemn.

To a student at a Theological College, in view of the difficulties of a friend about the practice of Invocation of Saints.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
Whit Monday, 1899.

Hearty thanks for your most kind letter. I am indeed sorry to be forbidden to go to ——. I cannot, however, let you think that I am actually ill; but my doctor has advised me to undergo a course of treatment for this rheumatism, and

[1] Is. vi. 8. [2] Acts xxii. 10.

thinks that if I went to —— I might bring on a recurrence of the trouble or hinder the effect of the treatment. I should have greatly enjoyed seeing you at the festival.

Your friend had better look at Dr. Swete's book on *The Apostles' Creed*, pp. 82 *sqq.* (2nd ed.). 'The Communion of Saints' was most probably put into the Western Creed by way of illustration and enforcement of the article on 'the Holy Catholic Church,' which the Donatists interpreted in their own fashion, but which really did not involve their definition of the conditions of Church life. Although in it the tares were mingled with the wheat, it was still holy—nay, it was still a true society of the holy.

The two words *Communio Sanctorum* would by no means suggest invocation of departed saints, as necessarily involved in it. In other words, if so interpreted, it stands out from the other articles as not explanatory of itself.

On the other point, it would be well if he could assimilate the teaching of Bishop Butler as to the exceeding unwisdom of judging *a priori* as to what God must be expected to reveal, or to bestow by way of gift to His Church. Where in the New Testament is there a promise that the larger part of the Church shall never adopt or retain practices which are fraught with danger, or which involve a twist and perversion of important religious ideas? If there were such a promise, we might expect to find with it a guarantee against a corresponding or co-extensive prevalence of unfaithfulness in conduct, of inconsistency between profession and

practice. Confessedly there is no such guarantee. Do not let us invent Divine assurances merely to suit our own predilections. That would be a form of taking the Name in vain.

P.S.—There are some very useful remarks, at the end of an article in the last number of the *Church Quarterly Review*,[1] on [Dr. Mortimer's] *Catholic Faith and Practice*.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on Extreme Unction.*

April, 1890.

I had expected that someone would have called attention to the manner in which the decree of the Council of Trent on Extreme Unction 'represents' the language of the text to which it appeals.

Anyone reading St. James v. 14, 15 without prejudice would see that the primary object of the unction there prescribed was recovery of health. The Spiritual benefit, however superior in intrinsic importance, is mentioned contingently. 'And if he be in the condition of one who has committed sins, it shall be forgiven him.' The main point is, 'The prayer of faith shall save the sick person, and the Lord shall raise him up.' But here the Vulgate mistranslates ἐγερεῖ by *alleviabit*, and the Council, naturally swayed by the Vulgate, uses this rendering in support of its own dogma:

'This [*res* of the Sacrament] is the grace of the

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1899, vol. xlviii., No. 95.

Holy Spirit, whose unction cleanses away offences if there be still any to be expiated, and the remains of sin, and relieves [*alleviat*] and confirms the soul of the sick man by stirring up in him a strong confidence in Divine mercy, whereby he is encouraged [*sublevatus*] so as to bear more easily [*levius*] the distresses and pains of illness, and also to resist with greater facility the temptations of the devil, . . . and in the meantime, where it is expedient for the salvation of his soul, obtains health of body.'[1]

It is obvious here that the order of ideas, or the sequence of objects aimed at in St. James, is simply inverted in the decree of the Council, so that what is primary and absolute with the former is secondary and contingent with the latter, and *vice versâ*; and also that a word which St. James uses with exclusive reference to bodily recovery is made by a mistranslation to speak of spiritual comfort. This is not to interpret St. James.

[1] Sess. XIV., c. ii., *Canones et Decreta*, p. 81 (Tauchnitz, 1876).

III

Liturgical Subjects

To a candidate for Holy Orders, on Hooker.

University College,
Thursday, April 27, 1865.

To begin by answering your question as to Hooker [Book V.]: I think some chapters do not require much, or even any, attention, as, especially, those from seventy-eight to the end, which I would not trouble myself to read. And as to several others, one may glance at their general drift, without going into details—such, *e.g.*, as those about the reading of Holy Scripture in church.[1] A great deal that he says on that point belongs more to his time than to ours,[2] the particular forms of Puritanic objection having altered, and few Puritans nowadays being at all likely to object to the public reading of Scripture. I think I may also say that, in the chapters on Baptism,[3] something, or much,

[1] Cc. xviii.-xxii.

[2] *Cf.* Bishop Paget, *Introduction to the Fifth Book of Hooker*, pp. 132 *sqq.*

[3] Cc. lviii.-lxv.

is less interesting than it must then have been, because the Puritans then maintained very strongly the invalidity of Baptism by other than 'ministers,'[1] their object being to deny that strong Catholic view of the necessity of Baptism which has made men admit lay Baptism to be valid.

But if you look at the table of contents, you will see that many of the points taken are practically important in regard to objections now raised, and you must not neglect them. The great dogmatic passages beginning at chapter li. are of supreme importance; but I know that the peculiar and unsatisfactory, because unreal, view which Hooker takes of the Eucharistic Presence[2] is not required at ——. Don't forget to look at William Law.[3]

To the Rev. ——, on the Office of Reader.

University College,
November 2, 1866.

Touching the new office of readers, I have looked in vain through some back numbers of the *Guardian* and *Church Review* for the information which you desire. It must surely have been in August that Bishop Ellicott appointed a reader, but I cannot find any account of it. I suppose the word is meant to express both a permission to read lessons in church, and prayers in chapel, schools, etc., and also to read to the sick.

[1] *Cf.* Bishop Paget, pp. 163 *sqq.*, and *supra*, p. 94, n. 2.
[2] *Cf. supra*, pp. 106 *sqq.*
[3] *Letters to the Bishop of Bangor; cf. supra*, p. 85, n. 2

I should have thought it exceedingly important to steer clear between the two mistakes, of placing the new officers on a quasi-ministerial level, and of not giving them a fair and intelligible position as agents of the Church. If our people had a more Christian idea of the ministry, and were less given to regard the clergyman as a gentleman who reads prayers and preaches, we could see minor Orders instituted with little anxiety. The position of the three Orders would maintain itself; there would be no risk of confusion. I should guard against any such license to read service as would degrade the Morning and Evening Prayers, as some men of the 'ultra' stamp would degrade them, into mere prayers which any layman might just as fittingly offer. A reader who, without absolute necessity, read the Church Service would (I think) commit a serious offence. Such officiating ought to be in the strictest sense exceptional, and no part of his ordinary function. I should also have thought that the reader might take a good deal of quasi-secular, or, at least, not properly spiritual, work off the Curate's hands.

To the Rev. ——, on the Absolution at Mattins and Evensong.

OXFORD,
May, 1865.

King[1] was in Oxford the other day. He told me that the preachers at the Cuddesdon Festival

[1] The Right Rev. E. King, D.D., now Lord Bishop of Lincoln, and then Principal of Cuddesdon.

were to be the Archbishop of York and Dr. Kay. (He had wanted *me* to preach in the afternoon!) He asked what I thought on a point which he finds to have occupied the minds of some of the Cuddesdon students. 'Did I think the Public Absolutions real and effective communications of Divine forgiveness to persons capable of it, equally with the Private Absolution?' I said, certainly, adding that Medd and Bramley and I had always been strongly persuaded of the importance of maintaining this. He was well pleased, and then told me that some of his men seemed to have the idea (from whatever source derived) that the Public Absolution was merely what people call a declaration of the terms of Gospel mercy (such as, indeed, the Sentences and Exhortation had virtually been). This view, which has, of course, been always held by Low Churchmen, is now held by several Catholics for the sake of exalting Private Confession and Absolution. Foolish, I think, and short-sighted; and, as to the construction of the words, the Public Absolution seems to assert its own sacerdotal character. Of course, as we all know, the 'I absolve thee' is not a necessary formula; it is not older than the ninth century,[1] and is hardly, if at all, known to the Eastern Church. My belief is that the great value of the daily service would be far more felt if people were taught that it gave them twice a day access to a real priestly absolution, which is valid for those who are in a state to profit by it. Who those are the priest needs not to know. It is

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *Ancient Collects*, p. 101, note *r*.

remarkable that even among Roman Catholics Absolutions have been pronounced to large multitudes. Alison mentions three such cases occurring in the one war of la Vendée.[1]

To the Rev. ——, on Ceremonial.

University College,
January 29, 1866.

I have complied with your request, and am sending Mr. —— a letter by this post. I send you at the same time Skinner of Newland's pamphlet,[2] and a card which Bramley has had printed.

I have briefly touched upon the points, so far as I understand them, but the documentary evidence is best found, as to the Injunctions of Edward VI., etc., in Cardwell.[3]

The question is, of course, far wider than a merely legal or historical one. Only, I suppose, it is the latter that has to be thought of when an attack on the existing status of things is talked of. For my part, I need not tell you that I should utterly deprecate any hasty or inconsiderate development of Ritualism; it should, if possible, be a natural expression of the feelings of the faithful, not an attempt to force their feelings, nor to substitute the unfamiliar for the familiar on antiquarian and æsthetic grounds. It is a case for the great

[1] *Cf.* Alison, *History of Europe*, c. xii. (vol. ii., p. 664, ed. 1849).

[2] Probably, *A Plea for the threatened Ritual of the Church of England*, by James Skinner (Masters, 1865).

[3] *Documentary Annals*, i., pp. 4 *sqq.* (Oxford, 1844).

lesson about new wine in new bottles—for much patience, forbearance, common-sense, and genuine spirituality.

Of course (as I was saying the other day), there are cases in which Ritualism has implanted faith and devotion ; instead of being demanded by them, it has called them out. But are not these,—among us English people, at least—rather the exception than the rule? And is not the other way, which the Bishop hinted at in his recent letter to the Deanery of Cuddesdon, the more logical of the two?

I like a grand ceremonial, and I own that lights and vestments give me real pleasure. But, then, I should be absurd if I expected that everybody who had the same faith as myself should, necessarily, have precisely the same feeling as to the form of its expression.

We want several things, several moral qualities, more universal on the Ritualistic side. But injustice and repression will not contribute to them —quite otherwise.

Touching the 'Reproaches,' I think it would be more judicious not to borrow them, regarded even as a kind of hymn, and not as a distinct service, straight from the Roman Office for Good Friday—*i.e.*, without any sort of alteration. First, because they are dramatic and sensational ; next, because they are popularly associated with the ceremony of kissing the crucifix. Canon Humble once said to me that he thought a good deal of foreign ceremonial was far too sensational,[1] to say nothing else.

[1] *Cf.* Edmund Bishop, *The Genius of the Roman Rite* (Weekly Register Office, 37, Essex Street, W.C.).

Dr. Pusey preached yesterday in Christ Church on prayer for relief from temporal visitations.[1] The sermon was rather hard to follow as an argument, but the conclusion, on the grandeur and might of prayer, and on the superior magnificence of spiritual over physical miracles, was sublime.

To the Rev. ——, on the same.

University College,
February 5, 1866.

I think the editor of the new edition of the *Directorium Anglicanum* one of the most dangerous persons extant to the cause of edifying and majestic ceremonial. That bewildering and irritating multitude of small formalities is simply destructive, I think, to real grandeur and solemnity. It not only provokes John Bull, but it distinctly mars, as I think, the effect of the whole ceremonial. I feel quite indignant at the folly and pedantry of some of those whom I take leave to call the puerile Ritualists.

To the Rev. Canon Medd, on Ceremonial.

October 16, 1899.

I wish your paper[2] could be worked up into a fuller statement for the benefit of those who are carried away by paradoxes in the hope of an

[1] *University Sermons*, 1864-79, No. 2.

[2] *The Principles of Liturgical Uniformity*, communicated to the *Guardian* of August 30 and October 18, 1899.

ulterior object—the introduction of the general mass of Roman ceremonial, in preparation for the corporate reunion of which they dream. . . .

Some words of X—— seem to intimate, rather to avow, his conviction that Prayer-Book rules or teachings are to be, not only supplemented, but corrected, by what he vaguely describes as Catholic usages or customs. He utterly fails to see that the English Church at the end of the nineteenth century has gone through an experience which makes it finally impossible for her to acquiesce in an elaborate symbolical ceremonial, such as might have been suitable, in the way of object lesson, to a laity without education and without any intellectual activity. To offer it to modern Englishmen would, indeed, be like feeding men on milk!

To the Rev. ——, on the Ritual Commission.

The Vicarage, Crediton,
August 31, 1867.

The Report of the Commission[1] on Vestments is clearly a compromise, and more verbally than really antagonistic to their use. 'Essential' is a perfectly vague term by itself; essential in what sense, for what end? The *Times* may gloss it in a sense hostile and insulting; but if a National

[1] 'We find that whilst these vestments are regarded by some witnesses as symbolical of doctrine, and by others as a distinctive vesture whereby they desire to do honour to the Holy Communion as the highest act of Christian worship, they are by none regarded as essential, and they give grave offence to many.'—*Report of the Ritual Commission*, p. vii (1867).

Church is not to allow any observance which is non-essential, and which gives offence to many persons, our Church was terribly wrong when, in Elizabeth's days, she did not simply allow, but enforced, the surplice, the cross in Baptism, and the kneeling at Communion—not one of which was more essential, properly speaking, than chasuble or alb, and every one of which gave serious offence to a large body of professing Churchmen.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on the Mixed Chalice.*

CHRIST CHURCH,
March 6, 1871.

Not the least distressing feature in the recent judgment in the Purchas case is the prohibition of any, even the most unobtrusive, observance of that most venerable usage, the mixture of water with the wine prepared for the Holy Eucharist. There is no need to cite the testimony of St. Justin Martyr,[1] or other ancient testimonies, on this point. It is, as many will feel, a grievance that the clergy of a Church which professes to follow primitive antiquity should be forbidden, as far as the present Court of Appeal can forbid them, to observe, in any way whatever, a Eucharistic custom probably Apostolic, and at any rate as old as the first half of the second century. Granting that the public mixing of water with the wine, at the time of the offertory,

[1] *Apol.*, i. 67 (i., p. 186, ed. Otto); *cf.* Gwatkin, *Selections*, etc., p. 54.

was to be treated as illegal, why should the private mixing, done in the vestry before service, be so vigorously disallowed? Their lordships, we all know, had not the advantage of hearing counsel for the side against which they have pronounced. Had it been otherwise, they could hardly have been left to think that the private mixture was 'not likely, in default of the public, to find favour with any,' or that, in fact, 'it had not prevailed at all.' It had *only* prevailed in the whole Eastern Church,[1] as is plain from the Preparation Office, said in the side-chapel of the Prothesis before the liturgy begins:[2] as it did prevail at low celebrations in the mediæval English Church, according to the use of Sarum. 'When low Masses first began,' says the learned editor of *The Sarum Missal in English* (p. lix), 'the priest was in the habit of putting in the wine and water here [in the sacristy] before Mass.'[3]

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the structure of a Collect.

Christ Church, Oxford,
May 16, 1900.

I am afraid I cannot think that the new matter contained in the paper quite satisfies the con-

[1] Except in Armenia [Ed.].

[2] *Cf.* Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western*, i. p. 357, line 23, and Glossary, s.v. 'Mixture,' p. 582.

[3] Pearson, *The Sarum Missal*, p. lix, note * (ed. 1884); and *cf.* the Judgment of Archbishop Benson in *Read* v. *the Bishop of Lincoln*, pp. 7 *sqq.*

ditions—by no means easy conditions—which go to the making up of a Collect. Before saying anything else, I will ask you to try an experiment. Read aloud to yourself, first, any three typical Collects of the Prayer-Book—*e.g.*, that for this week,[1] as one of the best—and then three of the newly-composed Collects in the paper. You will see at once what I mean: how the Collect, properly so called, exhibits such characteristics as regularity of plan, intelligible progress or order of ideas, harmonious balance of clauses, condensation of expression (so as often to suggest more than is said), an equable flow of rhythm which excludes all abruptness and satisfies the ear, while the mind is filled with the substance of the prayer as a whole, and, as it were, rests in it as complete and as saying just what was wanted.

One cannot make a Collect by stringing together a few tags of Scriptural language, with the Divine title at the beginning and a reference to the mediation at the end. There is no art in that, and a Collect is an artistic thing, a true composition.[2]

To the Rev. ——, *on the word* Oblations.

Septuagesima, 1882.

Patrick[3] is, I believe, the first writer who refers the *oblations* of the Book of 1662 exclusively to

[1] Collect for the Fourth Sunday after Easter.

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Ancient Collects*, Appendix on the Collects in the Prayer-Book, pp. 197 *sqq.*

[3] *Mensa Mystica* (*Works*, i., p. 115, ed. 1858), and *Christian Sacrifice* (*ibid.*, p. 377). *Cf.* Procter and Frere, *A new history*

the elements. Through Wheatly[1] this interpretation became a tradition; and, certainly, if one were to look merely at the text of the Book, it would be very forcible. I long took it for granted.

Yet not only did the word *oblations* as historically used before 1662, and as used (see Scudamore[2]) in Forms of Prayer of Charles II's. reign, bear a sense wider than that of 'bread and wine,' and find place where there was no celebration, but Cosin, in his suggestions in the corrected Book, had proposed[3]—

1. To say *offer up* as to the bread and wine.
2. To add *and oblations* after 'alms.'
3. To read *if there be no alms or oblations given to the poor*, in a marginal rubric.

Possibly, when the Revisers declined to put in *offer up*, and also struck out *given to the poor* in the marginal rubric, they may have wished to compensate for the former by the latter, so as to suggest indirectly an oblatory sense for the bread and wine.

Yet there remains the phrase *devotions of the people*, which cannot mean the elements (for they are collected with the alms in a bason), and which might be called parallel to *oblations*.

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of the Book of Common Prayer, p. 482, n. 1 (ed. 1901), and *Journal of Theological Studies*, i., pp. 321 (April, 1900).

[1] *A Rational Illustration of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. 238 (ed. 1846).

[2] *Notitia Eucharistica*, p. 409 (2nd ed., 1876).

[3] For these proposals, and the treatment they received, see Parker, *Introduction to the revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. cc.

There are, I think, these plain points :

1. *Oblations* has, historically, a very general meaning. It would apply to anything, in money or kind, contributed to the service of the Church or of the poor.

2. But elsewhere in the Prayer-Book *offerings*, an equivalent phrase, is used of the dues paid by a person (as at a Churching) ; and *here oblations* would properly be exclusive of *alms ;* as Stephens says, they are 'expressly distinguished'[1] from alms. Thus, they would mean anything offered by the parishioners or congregation except alms—*i.e.*, money for the poor.

3. They would include money collected for church repairs, for curates' stipends, for societies, etc.

4. But, since the bread and wine are contributed, or found, by the parish, *oblations* will, at any rate, always include them.

5. And when, as is often the case, nothing is collected at the offertory save alms for the poor, then oblations, by exhaustive process, will necessarily mean the bread and wine.

But it will hardly do to say that the word always means the bread and wine *only*. In many cases it means these *plus* some other sort of contribution in money. In many others, for lack of such contribution, it can only mean the bread and wine.

[1] *The Book of Common Prayer with Notes*, ii., p. 1175 (ed. 1850).

To the Rev. ——, *on* Alms and Oblations.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
July 21, 1884.

I have been looking up some notes of mine on the sense of *oblations*. The matter is not quite so clear as one would wish. Against the application of *oblations* to the elements is the fact (*a*) that in the Scottish Prayer-Book of 1636-37 *oblations* in the same context = *devotions of the People*;[1] and, again, (*b*) one finds Sancroft, as Archbishop, speaking of *alms and oblations* as to be devoted 'to pious and charitable uses,'[2] and he had been secretary to the Revisers of the Prayer-Book in 1661. Moreover, in that Revision (*c*) Cosin had proposed, indeed, to insert *offer up*, in relation to the placing of the elements on the Table, but had also gone on to read, *if there be no alms or oblations given to the poor*, as if he did *not* mean by *oblations* the elements.

1. To begin with, one thing is clear: *oblations* must be distinct from *alms*; it must mean some things offered by, or, at least, in the name of, the people, which are not alms.

2. Now, setting aside, for the moment, all

[1] 'While the Presbyter distinctly pronounceth some or all of these sentences for the Offertory, the Deacon . . . shall receive the devotions of the People . . . in a bason. . . . And . . . he shall . . . bring the said bason with the oblations therein. . . .'—*Scottish Book of* 1637 in Hall, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, vol. ii., p. 132 (ed. 1847).

[2] Visitation Articles of 1686, quoted in *Journal of Theological Studies*, i., p. 342.

historic considerations as to the terminology of the Office, it is certain that the bread and wine provided by the parish for the Sacrament may be regarded as thus offered by, or in behalf of, the people (as they always were regarded in the early Church). They may then, thus far, be *oblations*.

3. And there is this to be said in favour of so regarding them, as dealt with in our service—as placed, at this point in the service, on the holy Table—that we know that the Revisers, under Cosin's guidance, and with the recollection of Laudian traditions and aims full in their view, did mean, somehow or other, to restore the oblation of the elements.

4. We have to put these two facts together, that (*a*) they introduced a rubric as to placing the elements on the Table; (*b*) they introduced the words *and oblations* into the prayer, and *or oblations* into the rubric (*alms* had been in the prayer since the Revision of 1552).

It is impossible to overlook the significant co-ordinateness of these two acts of theirs; (*a*) and (*b*) must be interpreted together, and illustrate each other. I conjecture that when the Revisers, on consideration, thought it better or safer not to adopt Cosin's proposal about the words *offer up*, they wished to compass the same end that Cosin had had in view, in a manner which would give less offence; and for this purpose they struck out *given to the poor* after *oblations*, in the hope that thus *oblations* might be associated simply with the preceding rubric about the bread and wine, and

receive a sacramental instead of an eleemosynary interpretation. This would be exactly in harmony with their frequent policy of raising the tone of the service by suggestion rather than expression. They were diplomatists by the necessity of their position, and they dealt in words φωνᾶντα συνετοῖσιν.

P.S.—See this parallel:

The Prayer-Book as it stood before 1661.	*The Prayer-Book as revised in* 1661.
[*Rubric*] Then shall the Churchwardens . . . gather the devotion of the people, and put the same into the poor men's box.	[*Rubric*] . . . the Deacons, Church-wardens . . . shall receive the Alms for the Poor, and other devotions of the people, in a decent bason . . . ; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table. And when there is a Communion, *the Priest shall then place upon the Table so much Bread and Wine.* . . .
[*Prayer*] . . . most mercifully to accept our *alms, and to receive . . .	[*Prayer*] . . . most mercifully [*to accept our alms *and oblations*, and] to receive. . . .
[*Rubric*] *If there be none alms given unto the poor, then shall the words [of accepting our alms] be left out unsaid.	[*Rubric*] *If there be no alms *or oblations*, then shall the words [of accepting our alms *and oblations*] be left out unsaid.
In 1661—*Cosin's Proposals.*	*In* 1661—*Actual Revision.*
[*Rubric*] The Deacon or . . . one of the Churchwardens shall receive the alms for the poor and other devo-	[*Rubric*] . . . the Deacons, Church-wardens . . . shall receive the Alms for the Poor, and other devotions of the

tions of the people in a decent basin . . . and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.	people, in a decent bason . . . ; and reverently bring it to the Priest, who shall humbly present and place it upon the holy Table.
And if there be a Communion, the Priest shall then *offer up and place* upon the Table as much Bread and Wine as he shall think sufficient.	And when there is a Communion, the Priest shall then *place* upon the Table . . .
[*Prayer*] . . . to accept *these* our alms and oblations, and . . .	[*Prayer*] . . . to accept our alms and oblations . . .
[*Rubric*] If there be no alms *or oblations given to the poor*, then shall the words [of accepting our alms and oblations] be left out unsaid.	[*Rubric*] If there be no alms *or oblations*, then shall the words, etc.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on* the north side of the Table.

Christ Church, Oxford,
March 22, 1871.

In regard to the position of the Priest in Consecration, it would appear that the Judicial Committee attach some value to the words of Bishop—then only Archdeacon—Cosin, in his Visitation Articles of 1627. He there presumes[1] that the celebrant will remain at the north side of the Table, except when reading the Gospel, preaching, 'delivering the Sacrament, or on other occasions of a like nature.' Does this illustrate the interpretation

[1] *Articles of Inquiry*, etc., No. 7 (*Works*, ii., p. 8, ed. 1845).

of 'before the Table' in our Consecration rubric? Hardly so: for when Cosin thus wrote the Consecration rubric ran simply, 'Then the Priest, standing up, shall say as followeth.' Not one word about 'standing before the Table,' 'ordering the Bread and Wine,' 'taking' the elements 'into his hands,' 'before the people.' The rubric as it now stands was drawn up thirty-four years after this Archidiaconal Visitation, and was apparently written by Cosin himself. What would he mean by it? That is, would he mean to direct the Priest to consecrate in front of the Table? In support of this affirmative view, we may observe (1) that Cosin, when Canon of Durham, had been accused by a violently Puritanical brother Canon, Peter Smart, in 1630, of 'administering the Communion'—a phrase which must here mean consecrating—'with his back to the people and his face to the east';[1] and this although the Prayer-Book then in use said nothing about 'standing before the Table' (any more than about the 'manual acts' in Consecration, which yet, as is well known, were generally observed as a matter of usage by well-instructed priests). And, then, (2) the editor of *Cosin's Correspondence* tells us that Cosin appears to have been in the habit of standing at the north side except at the Consecration Prayer, which he repeated 'standing in front of the altar' (vol. I., p. xxvii.). Further, (3) Cosin must have had in mind throughout the Revision of 1661 that Scottish Prayer-Book of 1637,

[1] *Cosin's Correspondence*, i., p. 190 (ed. Surtees Society, 1858).

which, as the President of Magdalen well remarks, 'was destined to exercise a material influence on the Service Book of England.'[1] Now, that Prayer-Book had a Consecration rubric of considerable significance: 'The Presbyter . . . during the time of consecration shall stand at such a part of the holy Table where he may with the more ease and decency use both his hands.'[2] A direction well understood by the Puritan assailants of that liturgy to mean that the celebrant was to consecrate, not at one end of, but in front of, a table placed—as a previous rubric prescribed—'at the uppermost part of the Chancel or Church'[3] —that is, altar-wise, north and south, along the east wall.

But another point deserves consideration. It has been said that, as the rubric about the position of the Table 'in the body of the Church or in the Chancel' suggests a different position for it—in fact, apparently supposes (though certainly it does not expressly order) the Table to be set lengthways, with its long sides north and south (see Mr. Walton's able pamphlet on *The Celebrant's Position*[4])—we cannot interpret 'before the Table,' in our Consecration rubric, as necessarily meaning 'in front of it.' But the Revisers of 1661, who framed this latter rubric, were thinking of a table set, as was

[1] Bulley, *A Tabular View of the Variations in the Communion and Baptismal Offices*, p. xxiii (ed. 1842).

[2] Hall, *Reliquiæ Liturgicæ*, ii., p. 148.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 123.

[4] H. B. Walton, *The Rubrical Determination of the Celebrant's Position* (1866).

then the case, altar-wise, along or in front of the east wall. This arrangement, the great 'ritualistic innovation' of Charles I.'s time, had made good its ground; it was established in practice, though not enjoined by law. And to 'stand before' a table thus placed is to stand either, if there be room, behind it, in the old basilican manner, or else in front of its western side.[1] (Canon Liddon has quoted the illustrative passage in the Office of Matrimony).[2]

But the words 'before the people' have often been supposed to forbid the Priest to consecrate in this position. He may, it is said, 'order' the elements in front of the altar; he must return to the north end in order to consecrate. An illustration, however, of the true meaning of this phrase may be derived from a somewhat similar phrase in the Coronation Office. After certain promises have been made by the Sovereign, she goes to the altar-steps, and there, kneeling, touches the Bible held out to her by the Archbishop. Here she is evidently looking away from the people, and looking towards the altar. Yet she is said by the rubric to be then making 'Her Solemn Oath *in the sight of all the people*' (Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, ii. p. 114).[3]

The 'Remonstrance' now in circulation selects for special reference that one point in the present case which strongly interests all High Churchmen. But many who have signed it feel aggrieved at the restrictions of existing liberty in the matter

[1] *Cf.* Archbishop Benson's *Lincoln Judgment*, pp. 18 *sqq.*
[2] *Cf. infra*, p. 161.
[3] 2nd edition, 1882.

of vestments and 'the mixture.' I have already ventured to show that the Court's assumption, to the effect that the private mixing of the chalice has no history, and is of no interest to anyone, was made in ignorance of facts.[1] And as to the vestments, one might have expected that the Court, proceeding on its dictum in the Westerton case—'The same dresses, and the same utensils or articles, which were used under the first Prayer-Book of Edward VI., may still be used'—would have drawn a distinction between those vestments which were mentioned in that book, and those—as the amice and maniple—which were not so mentioned. But no such discrimination has been exhibited. The Court's dictum of 1857 is really cancelled by its Judgment of 1871, which proscribes the chasuble, alb, and tunicle ordered by that Book, and only allows the cope in cathedrals and collegiate churches, and that on authority subsequent to the reign of King Edward. Hereby the reference in our present rubric to 'the second year of Edward VI.' is deprived of all reasonable meaning—is made, one may fairly say, of no effect; and, so far, a great statute of the realm, the Act of Uniformity, which covers the whole of our present Prayer-Book, is constructively stultified. The significance of this is increased when we remember that the Ornaments Rubric, as it once stood, had a clause[2] which referred implicitly to some further

[1] See above, p. 147.

[2] 'According to the Act of Parliament set in the beginning of this [sc. 1559] book.'—*Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth*, p. 53 (ed. Parker Society). The reference is to 1 Eliz.,

'order' which Elizabeth might be supposed to have 'taken' after the passing of *her* Act of Uniformity, and whereby vestments might be held to have been excluded; that even with this clause the Puritan party in 1641 and 1661 supposed the rubric to sanction vestments, and objected to it accordingly; that with full knowledge of this the Revisers of 1661 (including Cosin, who had agreed with the Puritans as to the legal effect of the rubric) struck out that clause, and so made the rubric look straight back to 'the second year of Edward'; that the words 'be retained and be in use' were simply copied by the Revisers from the Act of Elizabeth; that if Bishops after 1661 did not order their parish Priests to wear chasubles, neither did they, so far as we know, order their Deans and Canons to wear copes, but confined themselves in this, as in other matters, to what seemed practicable in the way of official requirement.

Enough on these points. Dr. Monsell calls this 'a judgment without mercy.' It is more to the purpose to call it a judgment without equity. The upright intentions of its framers are above all question, but the result of their work does injustice, we may well believe, to their own personal dispositions; for one can hardly ascribe fairness or equitableness to a decision which virtually contravenes a statute, overthrows one *dictum* of the same Court, explains away the *prima-facie*

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c. 2, *ibid.*, p. 32; or Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, p. 466.

sense of another, puts a non-natural sense on momentous words, and strains the facts and documents of the case in an intensely restrictive direction, and against the undefended side. One might have looked for tokens of moderation, liberality, tolerance, disposition to 'interpret benignantly' in a matter admitted to involve some difficulties, and leading to penal results. One sees the sharpest edge of absolute prohibition pressed down by a *de facto* Supreme Court of Appeal, not on mere extravagances or excesses, but on a whole type of ceremonial which could largely refer, in its own vindication, to previous language of this same Court, which, however unacceptable to many earnest and pious persons, is yet prized by many others, not on merely æsthetic and antiquarian grounds, but as representing what they hold to be great facts of the Divine kingdom, and which has been found by experience in many cases, specially among the younger lay people, to lift up hearts into a higher atmosphere of reverential devotion, to increase their capacity for enjoying 'the pleasures of God's house,' and to deepen their sense of the beauty, majesty, richness, power—in one comprehensive word, the glory—of the faith and worship of His Incarnate Son.

To have taught or learned high truths as to Christ's sacramental work, without the aid of this or that expressive ceremony, is one thing. To be deprived of such externals after they have become associated with such truths, and to suffer this distressing, this manifoldly unsettling privation, not

by a deliberate expression of the Church's mind, but by a decree of the Judicial Committee of Privy Council—and a decree widely felt to be harsh and unjust—is quite another. The grave religious evils which would follow the general enforcement of such a decree are matter for the religious consideration of prelates who care for all classes of their flocks, who would be loath to see a large body of loyal Churchmen wounded and disheartened, who desire to promote the Church's internal unity at a time of increasing peril to Establishments, and, more than all, who know what may come, in an age like this, of forcibly uprooting anything that can serve as a help to faith, and therefore as a link between the soul and its Redeemer.

To the Rev. ——, *on* Before the Table.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
June 6, 1900.

I do not remember that we followed any Latin version in regard to that passage.[1] We took *ante* with respect to *the Table* because *ante* naturally means in front of a thing, whether with face or back towards it. But in this case the Priest must have his face to the Table, because he has to *order* what is upon it.

But we took *coram* in reference to the people,

[1] 'Cum Sacerdos, stans ante Mensam . . . coram populo.' Bright and Medd, *Liber Precum Publicarum*, p. 155 (ed. 1877).

because *coram* expresses the idea of doing a thing in the presence of a person or persons. This does not necessarily mean with the face towards the person; for in the Marriage Service the parties witness *before this company*, although they do not face it. In the Coronation Service the Queen *goes to the Altar and makes Her Solemn Oath in the sight of all the People*, but, of course, with her face towards the altar as she kneels upon the steps. This is, I think, parallel in sense to the words *before the people* in our rubric. In the old Coronation Service the oath was to be taken *super altare coram cunctis*, and then the King is to prostrate himself *ante altare* during *Veni Creator*.[1]

I have not yet met with the book which you mention. Personally I hold that a practice[2] of which the Prayer-Book says nothing may have, and in the case in question has, much to recommend it when it can be adopted without risk to health or mental attention, but that it cannot be imposed on Anglican Church people as an obligatory law.

If Mr. —— should really wish to make my acquaintance, I should be glad to see him if he would call. But please do not urge him to do so. Acquaintances of this sort, which the junior merely consents to make because a friend suggests it, come to nothing. I have had some experience of this kind, and at the age one has reached I fear one can make but little use of the opportunities

[1] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, ii., pp. 11 *sq.*
[2] Fasting Communion.

of intercourse with undergraduates, as one could at an earlier time.

To the Rev. —— on the posture of the celebrant while communicating.

Christ Church, Oxford,
July 26, 1887.

The 'ritual' custom, as you know, is for the celebrant to stand when he communicates. I suspect it to be a survival of the old Mass custom. In the Sarum Rite the Priest never knelt at all, though he repeatedly 'inclined.' What is said is that the reception by the Priest is the consummation of the sacrifice. I do not myself entirely appreciate this view. I think it at least maintainable that the Priest necessarily sustains two characters—that he is, as celebrant, the representative of our Lord in the great act of memorial; but he is also, as communicant, one of those who are joint partakers of 'that one bread.'[1] I do not quite like the notion of his being differentiated, so to speak, from the people in the act of Communion. Does any celebrant at that moment think of himself as engaged in an act of sacrifice? Does he not rather feel that he is on a level with communicants behind him in their common need of, and their common reception of, the Heavenly Food? I have a feeling, which I cannot shake off, that this is the simpler and more natural view, and that the other is the more technical and artificial.

[1] 1 Cor. x. 17.

Speaking of the matter from the point of view of edification, I should have thought that it might perplex, and even offend, good Church people not familiar with ritual 'order' to see the Priest stand at such a moment. They might ask, Is he not, then, bound to be as visibly reverent and humbly thankful as we of the laity are? Certainly I have had this thought when I have seen a celebrant stand during the Confession. How he could bear to do so I knew not. All this is against ritual authorities, even against the view taken in the *Annotated Book of Common Prayer*.[1] I cannot help it; I merely give you my private opinion. Bishop Cosin in 1661 (see Parker's *Introduction to the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, pp. ccxvii. *sqq.*) proposed to insert an express direction that the celebrant should receive the Holy Communion 'in both kinds upon his knees.' When I celebrate at St. —— or at similar churches, I conform to the standing practice, but my own inclination, and, I confess, my own personal opinion as to propriety, goes the other way. The Scottish Liturgy gives no direction in any of its recensions. I have not got a copy of the Nonjurors' Office at hand. If one goes to the First Book of Edward, one finds another instance of the paucity of its rubrical directions. It presupposed a knowledge of, and a retention of, old customs. It did not even direct the communicants to receive kneeling. That was done in the Second Book. The doctrine that the sacrifice is not complete until it has been partaken of does

[1] Blunt, *Annotated, etc.*, p. 391 (ed. 1888).

not seem to have occurred to the framers of the ancient liturgies, the Roman[1] included, for they place the Great Oblation within the act of Consecration itself, or, at any rate, immediately afterwards. And, unless I am mistaken, our modern devotional manuals usually advise the communicant to regard the memorial sacrifice as really made as soon as the Consecration Prayer is finished. Persons are directed or encouraged there to plead, by virtue of that memorial, and in the presence of that which is its centre and constituent, for whatever objects they have at heart. Of course, the Priest communicates in a few moments after he has finished the Consecration; but the point to which, I think, attention is directed is not his Communion, but the completion of the Consecration itself.

To the Rev. ——, on the Prayer of Oblation and the Eucharistic Sacrifice.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 13, 1897.

It never occurred to me that 'this our bounden duty and service' could be restricted to the offering of 'ourselves.' I should certainly take it as applying to the whole Eucharistic service.

I do not find in the Sarum Mass rubrics any provision for communicating the people as there

[1] 'Unde et memores,' etc., the consecration, as is implied by the prayers of the Roman Canon, not being completed till after 'Supra quæ' and 'Supplices te.' *Cf.* Hammond, *Liturgies*, pp. 336 *sq.* (ed. 1878).

is in the Roman. But I have no doubt that they were communicated—that is, when they desired to be—after the celebrant had received in both kinds. Maskell (*Ancient Liturgy*, p. 184[1]) quotes the *Ritus celebrandi Missam:* 'Si qui sint communicandi in missa, sacerdos post sumptionem sanguinis, antequam se purificet, facta genuflexione, ponat particulas,' etc., on a paten for administration. Of course, Mass was often—in fact, most frequently—said without communicants. Communion once a year had, in many parts of England, become the practice.

On the general subject, I think the best clue is to associate the Eucharistic sacrifice, not directly with the sacrifice on the Cross, but with the heavenly self-presentation, of which the Eucharist service is the earthly counterpart. Both look back to the sacrifice on the Cross; both plead its efficacy as an all-sufficient atonement; neither is co-ordinate with it or a repetition of it. If Romanists had kept this in view, they would not have gone so far wrong as they have done.[2]

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on St. Chrysostom and Evening Communions.*

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
April 13, 1871.

. . . The Church rule, as it stood in St. Chrysostom's days, was not the less binding on the conscience of a faithful Churchman because it was not laid down in Scripture, or because Scripture

[1] 3rd edn., 1882. [2] See above, pp. 88, 101.

gave indications of a different observance. What St. Chrysostom means to say is that nothing should induce *him* to neglect the Church rule[1]; that he would regard such neglect with horror—'the utmost horror' is Dean Milman's phrase (*History of Christianity*, iii., p. 139, ed. 1863)—as an offence deserving heavy penalties (this is, in fact, to understate the force of his words), but, still, that the rule was not what we should call a moral law, and that tradition, and not Scripture, was its basis. I cannot see that to admit this is to admit that 'on the broad issues of the case St. Chrysostom was of one mind with those who, of their own authority, set this rule at naught.'

With regard to the other passage quoted from St. Chrysostom's third homily on the Ephesians (tom. xi., p. 22, ed. Montfaucon, Paris, 1734), I venture to think that it does not touch the question. . . . The mention in this passage of the practice of communicating at a fasting time refers, not to the universal custom of receiving the Eucharist before the first meal of the day, but to the selection of Lent as a specially appropriate reason for communicating.

There is another passage in St. Chrysostom which may as well be quoted in regard to the general observance of fasting Communion in his day. It is in his twenty-seventh homily on 1 Corinthians, § 5.[2] He is rebuking those who

[1] Sc. of Fasting Communion. *Cf. Ep.* 125 (*Opera*, tom. iii., p. 668 D, ed. Ben.) and Bright, *Lessons from the Lives of three Great Fathers*, App. x., p. 252.

[2] *Opera*, tom. x., p. 248 C.

are careless after communicating. 'You before you have partaken, fast, that you may appear in some measure worthy of the Communion,' etc.

Those who now, among ourselves, urge the practice of fasting Communion—in all cases in which it can be followed without injury to health—are, in fact, resisting, as best they may, a movement which, by multiplying Evening Communions, will undoubtedly tend to the weakening, or even to the destroying, of that faith and reverence towards our Lord's greatest gift in the Holy Eucharist which was so conspicuous an element in St. Chrysostom's spiritual life. So far as they pursue their object with equitableness and charity, and with a view not merely to ecclesiastical precedents, but to deep religious interests, they may surely claim his authority on their side.

To the Editor of The Guardian *on St. Chrysostom and non-communicating attendance.*

CHRIST CHURCH,
June 15, 1872.

What manner of persons were those Antiochene Churchmen whom St. Chrysostom rebuked for their 'non-communicating attendance'? Not only . . . were they in the habit of communicating only thrice a year, and then *pro forma*, without earnestness and devotion, but they carried their indevotion into their attendance at the ordinary celebrations. They stood idly gazing at the service, or, as St. Chrysostom puts it, 'when

the King's table was present and the angels were ministering at it, and the King Himself was present, they stood gaping'[1]; they were quite indifferent to the fact of their own condition as habitual non-communicants—'cared nothing about it, thought it nothing'[2]—and thus might be described as virtually 'despising the mysteries' with an 'impudent effrontery,' which was the result of irreligious 'sloth.' Such was their moral and spiritual condition. Is there not an essential difference between it and the condition of those regular and devout communicants, whose right to attend celebration at other times without actual participation would be implicitly assailed by that rubric which, on Archdeacon Randall's motion, was adopted in a thin House by a small majority? And ought this difference to be forgotten and ignored when St. Chrysostom is cited on this subject?

There is—at least, there ought to be—no difference of opinion as to the extreme undesirableness of inviting the presence of indevout and alien spectators at the most solemn mysteries of the Church, and as little in regard to the ruinous mistake, or, rather, the undutifulness to our Lord and the starving of the soul's life, which would be involved in the practical substitution of 'attendance' for sacramental 'reception.' 'Attendance,' however devout, is not in any sense an equivalent to reception, and 'attendants,' as such, are on a lower footing than receivers, for they are not

[1] *3rd Hom. in Ephes.*, § 5 (*Opera*, tom. xi., p. 23 B, C).
[2] *Ibid.*, § 4 (*Opera*, tom. xi., p. 23 B). *Cf.* Bingham, *Antiquities*, XV. iv., § 2.

fully participating in the Eucharistic action. But the persons whose present freedom so many are anxious to see secured are either (1) in the habit of regular, devout, and not infrequent communion, or (2) training to become communicants. It is well known, I believe, to not a few pastors that by 'attendance' under judicious guidance persons are often led on to form habits of communicating who otherwise might have gone on as non-communicants. What Mr. Carter and others desire to preserve is, not the 'attendance' of *non-communicants*, but the right of 'attendance' for devotional purposes, on the part of communicants, at other celebrations beside those at which they communicate, and also of others who are learning to appreciate the sacramental privileges of the Church, and preparing to use them regularly. As to a 'frightfully rare reception of the Holy Mysteries,' have not we in England, during the last three centuries, been familiar with that evil as prevalent among large masses of professing Church people, who have never been in the habit of 'attending,' but have simply walked out of church as a matter of course on 'Sacrament days'? . . .

Those devout communicants who, beside their regular communions, 'attend' at some other celebrations, would hardly allow that Archdeacon Freeman[1] had entered into their state of mind when he described them as 'saying or doing one thing while the Church was doing another.' They

[1] *Cf. Principles of Divine Service*, vol. i., p. 388, and vol. ii., Introduction, pp. 29, 53, 60 (ed. 1880).

would probably think that he had estimated such attendance, so to speak, *ab extra*, without that kind of sympathetic discernment which is so remarkable a feature in the famous letter[1] of Dr. Mill. 'I would not,' said that greatest of modern Cambridge divines, 'conceive those persons to be excluded from' the 'benefit' of the Eucharistic offering, 'whose presence is intended to express their sympathy with the act; who feel strongly that it is better to be with the Communicants than with those who turn their backs upon them, while prevented from any cause satisfactory to their own conscience, and not offensive to others, from participating with the reverence they feel due to the Body and Blood of the Lord. I cannot but think they are included, if they are duly sensible of the great blessing and privilege of actual Communion, and are not in any way seeking excuses for standing aloof from it; and (I would add) if they are not seeking new and unauthorized modes of approaching the Divine Majesty, seeking through a *sight* of the Elements what is only promised to the *manducation* of them. . . . While the comparison with the Primitive Church makes me very well pleased that our Church has never commanded the absence of those who do not participate, when many of the Puritan school were for enforcing such an order, I should be strongly opposed, under our present circumstances, to inviting their presence as *non-communicants*.' (Quoted in the *Ecclesiologist* for

[1] Dr. W. H. Mill in *Tracts on Catholic Unity*, No. 7 (London, Darling).

1858, vol. xix., p. 180.) The whole letter is eminently worth reading. It may be confidently hoped that Convocation will not in these days impose a prohibition which would have been earnestly deprecated by Dr. Mill.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on non-communicating attendance.*

August 9, 1872.

It may be permissible to observe:

1. That nothing as yet advanced has shaken the statement made in your columns to the effect that St. Chrysostom's censures in the Homilies on the Ephesians apply, as the context proves, to a case of non-communicating attendance, which is morally quite different from that of regular and devout communicants who at certain times attend the celebration devotionally, without sacramental reception. St. Chrysostom, therefore, cannot be cited as an authority for regarding *all* who do not mean to communicate on a particular occasion as ranking '*pro hac vice* among the penitents.'

2. That if the Ninth Apostolic Canon[1] (accepting the Dionysian version of it) be taken strictly, and appealed to as practically authoritative, it will

[1] Πάντας τοὺς εἰσίοντας πιστοὺς καὶ τῶν γραφῶν ἀκούοντας, μὴ παραμένοντας δὲ τῇ προσευχῇ καὶ τῇ ἁγίᾳ μεταλήψει, ὡς ἀταξίαν ἐμποιοῦντας τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ, ἀφορίζεσθαι χρή. — Hefele, *Councils*, i., p. 461. For an account of the date, authorship, and authority of these Canons, see Bishop John Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, p. 42, and Brightman, *Liturgies*, I., p. xxv.

prove a good deal too much. For it will prevent all Church people who do not, on a given Sunday or holiday, purpose to communicate, from attending any part of the Communion Service, or, indeed, any part of the morning service, and will compel them to stay away from church for that morning altogether.

3. That whereas, 'in the primitive Church the several classes of non-communicants were solemnly dismissed, each with appropriate prayer and ceremony,' communicants who for some reason did not, on that particular occasion, intend to communicate were not dismissed at all. Those of them who, in St. Chrysostom's time, went out after the sermon, did so without liturgical warrant;[1] and his expression of grief at seeing so many of his hearers depart, 'when Christ was about to appear in the sacred mysteries,'[2] does not lead us to think that, had he known of the case now before us, he would have insisted on the departure of devout Church people who might have communicated a short time previously—perhaps even at an earlier hour of the same day—and who wished to remain in prayer throughout the celebration. Nor would he surely have applied to their conduct such words as those cited from *pseudo*-Dionysius about certain persons 'not perfect in simplicity, not altogether unblamable,' although he would probably have exhorted them to guard

[1] Ὅσοι ἐν μετανοίᾳ ἀτέλεστε πάντες (Brightman, *Liturgies*, p. 472.

[2] *De Incomprehens. Dei Nat.*, iii., § 6 (*Opera*, tom. i., p. 469 A).

against any substitution of such attendance for communion, or against any other misuse of the time spent in church under such very solemn circumstances—advice which, we may trust, will be acted upon *now*.

To the Rev. ——, on non-communicating attendance at the Holy Eucharist.

[In reply to a paper submitted to him containing certain propositions on the subject.]

October 24, 1896.

The practice of the Primitive Church does not seem to throw any decisive light on the matter as it comes before us, for the simple reason that a stringent discipline prevailed in all the departments of its life, and that we have none whatever so far as the modern laity are concerned. It was then, I suppose, a matter of acknowledged obligation for the faithful to communicate, as a rule, every Sunday. They could not, without risk of censure, go out when those who *could* not communicate were dismissed at the end of the first part of the Liturgy. There was also, as we all know, an express regulation that the penitents of the highest class, who were all but restored to full Church privileges, should 'stand with' the faithful throughout the celebration, but should not actually communicate.[1] This implied that, when they were again admitted into the ranks of the faithful, they should do so.

[1] Nicene Canon II. *Cf.* Bright, *Notes on the Canons*, pp. 38, 75, ed. 1882.

If, then, we now, on the score of ancient practice, forbid those who are not intending to communicate at a particular celebration to remain, or 'attend,' without communicating, we ought, in consistency, to press all whom we consider as 'faithful' to communicate every Sunday. And who would dare to incur such a responsibility in our circumstances?

My point here is, that it will not do for us to make a half-and-half, bit by bit, eclectic use of ancient methods or rules in this matter. All that we can do is to follow, as far as may be, the mind of the Early Church under gravely different conditions. I may add that passages often quoted from St. Chrysostom as against all non-communicating attendance need to be carefully looked at in their context (see the 3rd Homily on the Ephesians). The persons whom Chrysostom is censuring are idle, indevout gazers, such as, it seems, the earlier form of our own Exhortation[1] had in view, if one is to construe the words literally. They would be better away; they are insulting the awful rite. It was the world which had invaded the Church; Christianity having become respectable, fashionable, popular in a sense, men crowded to its highest functions with unprepared souls; and this, doubtless, went on in all great cities as well as at Antioch. It was a new problem, which the primitive ages had not known. Probably it vexes Roman Catholic authorities abroad,

[1] Sc. of 1552 and 1559. *Cf.* Cardwell, *Two Liturgies of Edward VI.*, p. 283; and Clay, *Liturgical Services of Queen Elizabeth* (ed. Parker Society), p. 186.

where to hear Mass on Sundays is a matter of course for those who would keep well with the Church; and very often, one fears—rather, one cannot doubt—it is a sort of attendance which might call forth a rebuke like that of St. Chrysostom. After his time, in the West it was thought best to require all *fideles* to stay until after the priest's communion[1] at any rate.

One other remark may be suggested by any retrospect of the usages of antiquity. An ancient Christian would certainly have been very much astonished if he could have been taken on Sunday morning to a choral Mattins and Ante-Communion (so called). He would have said, 'Is *that* all that you Christian people do at the Lord's Day morning worship?' On his Lord's Day he had been wont to attend a service which did incomparably more in the way of bringing home the great realities of the supernatural order than Morning Prayer, as such, can do. And it is just at this point that frequent 'attendance,' in a reverent spirit, by those who do periodically and devoutly communicate, meets a want and secures an object. It makes people feel what is expressed in Heb. x. 19-25, and xii. 22-24. And it is just in this realization of the presence of the Kingdom of God that our English temperament usually falls so far below

[1] According to the *Ordo Romanus*, I., § 20 (c. 800 A.D.), the Archdeacon at Rome announced the day and place of the next 'station' at this point of the Mass (*cf.* Muratori, *Lit. Rom. Vet.*, ii., col. 985). 'Par précaution'; says Mgr. Duchesne, 'les personnes qui ne prenaient point part à la communion [du peuple] avaient sans doute l'habitude de sortir avant qu'elle ne commençât' (*Origines*, etc., p. 179).

the primitive Christian standard. As Dean Butler once said to me, 'What we want the people to get hold of is, that something very great takes place at Church, which cannot take place elsewhere.' The daily Office does not impress this fact, and the Eucharist does; that is the difference.

The mind of the Bishops of 1661 may not be easily ascertainable. They struck out of the Exhortation the words I have referred to; but that may have been because the custom of 'attendance' had practically died out. But I aver I should not lay much stress on their mere opinion; they had not before them the question as it comes before us.

* * * * *

Further, I would say that, even for intending communicants, or for actual periodical communicants, a caution seems necessary. No one who 'attends' without reception is, *pro hac vice*, on a level with those who do receive. The rubric of the First Book expressed this, when it directed non-participants to 'depart out of the quire'[1] into the nave. I do not approve of any language which implies that mere attendance is a fulfilment of our Lord's 'Divine appointment of this act of worship,' or that it involves a complete share in the oblatory part of the service. A good deal of language in some of our devotional books or in Church newspapers seems to me faulty in this important particular. It is assumed that we do fully 'shew forth,' or proclaim, 'the Lord's death,' if we are present with devout minds at the celebration, yet do not, on that occasion, 'eat of that bread and

[1] Cardwell, *Two Liturgies*, p. 281.

drink of that cup.' But that is not a true representation of St. Paul's words. I am also not without apprehension that the pressing of Sunday 'attendance' as a canonical obligation on all Churchmen may, or, rather, that it will, tend to produce a perfunctoriness, which may develope into irreverent coldness, or, as Chrysostom calls it, 'indifference.'[1] The multiplication of obligations of this sort among 'advanced' Churchmen, as they are called, is, I think, a snare of our time, and needs to be corrected. It takes men back to a state of things in which 'letter' exists without 'Spirit.'

To the Rev. ——, on the same subject.

[? *Aug.*, 1872.]

The Canon to which I referred is the tenth (otherwise the ninth) Apostolical Canon. 'All those of the faithful who come into Church and listen to the Scriptures, but who do not remain for the Prayer and the Holy Reception, ought to be separated' (from Church privileges) 'as causing disorder in the Church.'

If this Canon be pressed against the presence at the Eucharist of any persons who do not there and then communicate, it may as well be pressed against their presence at any part of the Sunday morning service. They ought not, on that showing, to come to Church unless they are prepared to receive. This is what I meant by 'proving too much. . . .' Actual Communion is the only

[1] *Cf.* p. 169, note 2, above.

full mode of sharing in the Eucharistic Service; and faithful Christians ought to aim at weekly Communion. When they attend without communicating, for good reasons, they are, *pro hac vice*, occupying a lower position than those who do communicate.

To the Rev. ——, on Keble's death and on Good Friday celebration of Holy Communion.

OXFORD,
Holy Saturday, 1866.

I must add a line to my letter of yesterday—that is, I must add a short letter to follow it—in order to tell you of the heavy loss which the Church has endured. Mr. Keble died at Bournemouth on Maundy Thursday afternoon. His illness had only caused immediate alarm for four days. His brother said the Commendatory Prayer; his wife—who will soon follow him—at once referred to the closing stanzas of his hymn for Good Friday. Liddon writes, 'a fitting close of his wonderful life, that he should lie down to rest under the Cross of his Lord.' To me, too, Maundy Thursday seems a fitting day for the departure, if depart he must, of one who has done more, perhaps, than anyone else in our day to bring out, in all its depth and sweetness and power, the Mystery of which that day commemorates the institution.

I talked to Lord Beauchamp last night, as we returned from SS. Philip and James' Evensong

(Gray gave us an exquisite sermon) on the point of Good Friday Communion, or, rather, celebration. His singular nobleness and purity of inward character—which would not be marred if he were all the Earls of England in his own person—coupled with a very vivid and intense faith, make his opinion on such matters worth hearing. He said, 'It isn't a thing you can argue about; but if a person once feels the true nature of the Eucharistic Service, if the Sacrifice, in all its joyfulness, shines out before him, he will feel it next to impossible to have a celebration on that day. It isn't a day of festival, and a celebration must be festal.' What one feels is that, while a celebration comes naturally on any other day—unless this day be also exceptional, naturally even after a funeral—Good Friday is a day *sui generis:* not a day like any other. *He* is not a martyr, but a sin-bearer, and that fact, as Dr. Pusey somewhere says, is what wraps the day in such depths of mourning. At three yesterday we had Litany and Miserere, and afterwards I found St. Thomas's thronged while the Reproaches were being sung. I doubt the safety of introducing such services on any other day, for fear the Puritans could take advantage of it in their own style; but Good Friday is exceptional, and perhaps the ordinary offices of the Prayer-Book are not quite sufficiently expressive.

Gray said that according to medical authorities the blood and water were the result of a real rupture of the heart.[1]

[1] *Cf.* Dale, *The Atonement*, p. 462, note b (9th ed., 1884).

To the Rev. ——, on celebration of Holy Communion on Good Friday.

February 14, 1880.

My own feeling, I confess, would be not to have Holy Communion on Good Friday. I know that there is something to be said on the other side, and that (*e.g.*) Bishop Andrewes refers to Holy Communion on that day in his sermons.[1] Moreover, it may be said, in the Latin Church there is a Mass of the Pre-sanctified, which includes a good deal more than we could have in what is called the Ante-Communion. It includes an actual participation of the Reserved Sacrament. We cannot reserve the Sacrament, and therefore, it is argued, we had better have the regular Eucharistic Service.

At the same time, on the other hand, there was a strong tradition in the ancient Church against associating the highest and most joyful act of Christian worship with the most mournful of all anniversaries. It was felt, I suppose, that the *Ter-Sanctus* and other such parts of the service had better be silent, so to speak, on that day.

I grant that the authority of the Laodicene Council[2] would go so far as to exclude the celebration from nearly all the week-days of Lent; but I think the principle natural and reverential. The difference between different sections of our Church on this point seems probably to coincide

[1] *Works*, ii., p. 134 (ed. 1841).
[2] Canon 49. *Cf.* Hefele, ii., p. 320.

with the different views which they take of the Eucharistic service. If it is viewed simply as a Communion, there will be a natural disposition to have it on that day, the day of the Passion, just as on Easter Day, as was the custom when I was a boy in Yorkshire. But if it is viewed as also a high act of triumphant thanksgiving, the culmination in this world of all possible worship, then there is a natural disposition to forego it for this one day, the 'darkest'[1] day of the year, as Keble calls it. The mind is not in tune for exaltation; it prefers to wait till the death-day is over. And as this view of the Eucharist is that of High Churchmen, it is consistent in them, as a rule, not to celebrate on Good Friday.

To the Rev. ——, on the Three Hours' Service.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
Easter Day, 1900.

Are you not sometimes a little less than comfortable as to the popularity of the Three Hours' Service? It seems to me a thing worth considering whether it has not drawn many persons away from the ordinary offices of Good Friday, and therein deprived them of a great amount of precious instruction, such as the carefully selected Psalms and Lessons convey to those who attend Mattins or Evensong. At —— the daily office of Good Friday is, or very lately was, thrust aside into two corners, and the hours most available for

[1] *The Christian Year*, Good Friday.

church-going preoccupied by 'fancy services'—the Way of the Cross and the Reproaches, which stir emotion, but can hardly be said to 'build up.' Sensationalism is a real danger, and the maxim that one 'must somehow make an impression' is a very dangerous instrument to employ.

I am very glad that you like Dale's great book[1] as I do. I looked through it again on Friday with unabated sense of its very real and far-reaching value.

The *Pilot*, in a recent number, deprecated any stress being laid on the differences between sections of High Churchmen. I know what this means. I do not admit that clergy such as you allude to, still less their lay followers (who really have a good deal of Dathan and Abiram about them) are High Churchmen at all. Churches which represent definitively Roman ideals are a grave menace not only to the Church's peace, but to her very safety. That foolish woman who told you that the Articles were a legal document meant, I suppose, that their only claim was not to be explicitly contradicted. That is what her clergy, a clergy such as she would 'go after,' are saying as to the principle laid down in Article XXXIV. as to the rights of national churches in matters merely ceremonial. You might have asked her to define Transubstantiation, and to state precisely her ideas as to the mediæval, philosophic sense of substance.

[1] *The Atonement.*

To the Rev. ——, *on* I mean an outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, etc.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
All Saints' Eve, 1878.

There is, no doubt, a comma after 'grace' in the original document and in the Black Letter Prayer-Book used for the revision of 1661-62. I suppose that Dean Aldrich founded his version[1] on that comma. But his version in itself is of no sort of authority; it is, in various instances, lax. In the present case his translation is unquestionably wrong.

1. It introduces a feeble superfluity. What would be the use of saying that the sacramental sign was *given unto us*, when we are just going to hear that it was *ordained by Christ?* Of course, it is meant for our use; but it would be a very unecclesiastical tautology, considering that we are construing Bishop Overall, to say that the sign was, (*a*) given unto us, (*b*) instituted by our Lord. It seems to me also that grammatically such a construction would seem to require an *and* between *given* and *ordained*. There is even some awkwardness in Dean Aldrich's phraseology, *Quod nobis datur, ab ipso Christo institutum*, and the English makes it still awkwarder. But this is a minor point.

2. The other interpretation is consistent with

[1] See note 5, p. 186.

the history of theological language, and with the requirements of the case. For it is extremely important to emphasize the fact that, as the Articles say, the sacraments were *efficacia signa*,[1] that is, that they were signs of a grace that was not simply attested, but really given, the word *given* being equivalent to *conferred*, the verb so often used in regard to the bestowal of grace by means of sacraments. So that on this interpretation *given unto us* is not a jejune surplusage but an important security of the idea to be conveyed. Even the 'Confessio Belgica' calls the sacraments *donorum Dei pignora* [Niemeyer, *Collectio Confessionum*, p. 383].

The close relation between *grace* and *God's gift*, the readiness with which *given* attaches itself to the word *grace*, may be called even proverbial.

To the same, on the same subject.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
November 3, 1878.

Many thanks for your note. When I wrote to you, I had forgotten, I believe, another passage in the Articles, connecting the verb *to give* with *grace:* it is in Article XVI., *depart from grace given.*

I find that Bagster's Latin and Greek Versions support my construction: *Signum gratiæ collatæ*

[1] Art. xxv. *Cf.* Hardwick, *History of the Articles*, pp. 93, 323, 324, (413 ed. 1884). [Dr. Bright used to speak of this book as 'quite invaluable.'—ED.]

nobis, ab ipso Christo institutum and Τῆς ἔσω καὶ πνευματικῆς χάριτος ἡμῖν δοθείσης σημεῖον, τὸ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ διαταχθέν. I think that this Greek version is that which was made a few years after the last revision by a Chaplain of the Archbishop of Canterbury. I once had a copy of this, but have lost it, I fear.

I am not very well off for comments on the Catechism. But in a very good little book by a Mr. Arden, *Manual of Catechetical Instruction*, that construction is adopted which we followed in the Latin Prayer-Book[1]; adopted as a matter of course.[2] So in a still better book, Mr. Sadler's admirable *Church Teacher's Manual*, thus: 'Why do you say, *Given unto us?* Because this . . . grace is given to us when we duly receive the outward sign'—'the sign of a grace which God intends us to receive when we receive the Sacrament.'[3] In other words, he teaches that the true sense of *given unto us* is fixed by the ampler phrase in the clause, *ordained . . . as a means whereby we receive the same.* See also Blunt's *Annotated Book of Common Prayer.*[4]

I do not know what reasons, apart from the authority of Dean Aldrich[5] and the punctuation of

[1] 'Intelligo signum externum et visibile gratiæ internæ et spiritualis nobis collatæ, a Christo ipso institutum' (Bright and Medd, *Liber Precum Publicarum*, p. 181, ed. 1877).

[2] Arden, *Manual*, etc., p. 144 (ed. 1847).

[3] P. 282 (ed. 1888). [4] P. 435 (ed. 1888).

[5] 'Externum et visibile signum intelligo internæ et spiritualis gratiæ, quod nobis datur, ab ipso Christo institutum' (*Liber Precum Ecclesiæ Cathedralis Christi, Oxon. E Theatro Sheldoniano, MDCCXXVI*).

the early text, appear to —— decisive for the other construction. I own that I cannot even imagine any derived from the history of theological forms, or from the idea which Bishop Overall (a very accurate theologian) must have had before his mind and must have intended to express. To be sure, it may be said, 'We hear in Scripture of God *giving a sign*.'[1] But that thought is fully and more theologically expressed, for the purpose of this answer, in the next words, *ordained by Christ*; and if Dean Aldrich's construction were the right one, we should have naturally expected *given to us by Christ*, or *given to us and ordained by Christ*. Once more *receive grace* is just a natural correlative to *grace given*, as man's part to God's.

I may add that Dean Aldrich has another error in his version of the Catechism. He actually translates (*query*, misled by logical recollections?) *generally* by *in genere*. Had he looked at the Authorized Version of 2 Sam. xvii. 11, or Jeremiah xlviii. 38, he would have seen that Bishop Overall meant *necessary for all*.

To the Rev. ——, on Godparents.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
Feast of Circumcision, 1886.

I think that you cannot absolutely dispense with a Godfather in the administration of Public Baptism, but I should, in a case of extreme diffi-

[1] Isa. vii. 14; *cf.* Rom. iv. 11.

culty, accept one Godparent, although strictly there ought to be three. The Convocation of Canterbury proposed two as the required number, but that proposal is not Church law. We may be permitted to regret the increased stringency of requirement in the reformed Office as compared with the Sarum rubric, which even forbade, in ordinary cases, more than *unus vir et una mulier*[1] to act as sponsors for the same child. If no actual and qualified Godfather could be found, I should ask a brother-clergyman to present the child and answer for it.

Of course, in case of illness, when a child is baptized at home, no sponsors are required until it is brought to Church to be 'received.'

You will get over your shyness about home visiting. It is a threshold difficulty—once make the plunge, and you don't feel the shock again.

Always ask me any question you think I can answer.

To the Rev. ——, on Confirmation.

Christ Church, Oxford,
January 16, 1896.

I am glad to see your letter in the *Guardian*[2] on Confirmation.

'Presbyter' seems to be very imperfectly informed as to the import of 'ratify and confirm the same,' when he takes it to represent the

[1] Maskell, *Mon. Rit.*, i., p. 35 (2nd ed., 1882).
[2] January 15, 1896.

essence of Confirmation.[1] The confused use of 'confirm' is, indeed, as old as the second Prayer-Book of Edward VI., where, unfortunately, 'ratify and confess' was altered into 'ratify and confirm.'[2] But, in both these Prayer-Books, the reference was not to the essence of the rite, but to a condition of duly receiving it. Candidates were to be able to say 'the Articles of the Faith, etc., and also to answer to such questions of this short Catechism as the Bishop (or such as he shall appoint) shall by his discretion appose them in.'[2]

This Catechism-saying, then, was what was described as a ratifying of baptismal obligation, and clearly such a ratifying was identical with what was to take place in Church Sunday after Sunday during the previous period of instruction in preparation for Confirmation.

The child, when coming 'to be Confirmed,' was to be competent to satisfy the Bishop that he could 'say his Catechism,' including (as you put it) the 'Yes, verily.' But, to 'say the Catechism' could not constitute the essence of a rite which, in the service, was virtually traced back to Apostolic institution, and was reserved for a Bishop's ministration. It was a preliminary, or antecedent, requirement, and such is the present answer to the question, 'Do ye here, in the presence of God?' etc., which question, be it always remembered, with the answer annexed to it, was no part of the Confirmation Service before

[1] January 1, 1896.
[2] Cardwell, *Two Liturgies*, p. 344.

1661-62, and it was unfortunate that, at that last revision, the very valuable passage in the original preface about 'Confirmation' being 'ministered' for the reception of 'strength and defence against all temptations to sin,'[1] etc., was left out. The question, historically considered, is very simple: Did the Church, before 1661-62, regard a correct repetition of the Catechism, or a part of it, in the Bishop's hearing, as Confirmation? Assuredly such a notion was never dreamt of. Assuredly, also, the Church did not, in 1661-62, change her view as to what constituted Confirmation. She merely accentuated the solemnity of that profession which the repetition of 'Yes, verily,' etc., had involved, by making the Bishop put the essence of 'Dost thou not think?' etc., into the form, 'Do ye here?' etc. 'Presbyter,' I suppose, never looked at Canon 60,[2] where (in 1604) the Church defined Confirmation without one word about ratification of vows.

To the same, on the same subject.

Christ Church, Oxford,
January 18, 1896.

Every now and then one does get startling proof of the theological ignorance of a large number of the clergy, and of their absolute

[1] Cardwell, *Two Liturgies*, p. 344.
[2] Cardwell, *Synodalia*, p. 281 (ed. 1842).

imperviousness to the influences of the Church revival.

As to Confirmation, one would have thought that the very definition of it in the Prayer-Book, 'or laying on of hands,' etc., would have sufficed to show that it consisted in an act of the Bishop, not in an act of the persons 'to be then confirmed.' But Puritan prejudices are inaccessible to history or to grammar.

There is a small volume by W. Jackson on *The History of Confirmation*, which I once procured, but which I seem to have disposed of.

I fear that Canon Mason's exaggerated estimate of Confirmation,[1] as (in a way) superior to Baptism, will have given a fresh lease to the 'ratification' view, by way of recoil.

Do you think 'Presbyter' has ever heard of a certain divine, not without reputation, whose name was Richard Hooker? If so, has he found in Hooker's account of Confirmation[2] anything about ratification of vows as constituting it, or as a part of it? What Hooker says is that Confirmation is administered 'by prayer and imposition of hands,' and that it is reasonably postponed until the candidates have been 'seasoned with the principles of true religion,' and the Bishop, 'by trial and examination,'[3] has ascertained them to be thus competent. This refers, of course, to the 'apposing' in the Catechism. My point is, that the question *now*

[1] Mason, *The Relation of Confirmation to Baptism.*
[2] *Eccl. Pol.*, V. lxvi.
[3] *Ibid.*, § 7.

put by the Bishop is precisely *ejusdem generis* with the previous 'apposing' in the Catechism, which was avowedly a preliminary to Confirmation, not part of it. Can 'Presbyter' name a single divine of authority in favour of his view?

To the Rev. ——, on the Burial Office.

PEN-Y-LAN, TAN-Y-BWLCH, CARNARVON,
August 8, 1863.

As to the Burial-Service question, what I wrote to the Archbishop was in substance this: that my impression was (though I, of course, added that I would go into the matter when I got back to Oxford) that wherever we, with our present Office, expressed the feelings of survivors in the form of thanksgiving and strongly-worded hope, the old rituals expressed those feelings in the form of commendations of the soul to Divine mercy or keeping; not *ipso facto* implying a belief in purgatory, nor, perhaps, written with any very distinct or logical view of the subject. Such commendations were retained in Edward VI.'s First Prayer-Book (the framers of which could not mean to teach purgatory), and, in short, that was an Office ready to hand, more consonant to ancient models than our own. But one could hardly expect that the old, simple, affectionate use of such prayers for the departed, as media for uttering the Christian's affection for those who were gone before, could again become general in England. Apart, therefore, from other con-

siderations, it would probably be impossible to restore Edward VI.'s first Burial Office[1] with general acceptance. But were this not so, or, again, were we to retain the structure of the present Office, only leaving out the strongest expressions—'as our hope is,' etc.—still we could not expect our people, nor could we wish them, to accept any Office which did not presume a Christian character in the deceased, as one who had, to all appearance, died in a state of grace. This presumption must be retained. But if so, then the old difficulty still meets us; we have to use the Office over some of whom we cannot, without a great shock to sincerity, suppose that they died as good Christians.

How to meet this difficulty I do not see, for any general system of discipline seems impracticable in our present circumstances. (I doubt whether the plan of refusing the Office when the person had not communicated three times in the past year would really work. I think it would only produce new complications.) However, if the difficulty cannot be overcome, it can be modified; for 'in sure and certain hope,' etc. (although I know that 'hope of resurrection'[2] was turned into 'hope of the resurrection' in 1661, in order to avoid, if possible, any special reference), one might read, borrowing from the Office for the Burial of the Dead at Sea, 'looking for the resurrection of the body and the life of the world to come, through our Lord,' etc. Perhaps (I don't

[1] Cardwell, *Two Liturgies*, etc., pp. 372 *sqq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 373 [1552].

think I suggested this to his Grace) one might also, in another place, read, 'We give Thee hearty thanks for that Thou dost deliver Thy faithful servants out of the miseries,' etc. And perhaps 'as our hope is' might be omitted, although it would go hard with many mourners to sacrifice it. I wonder how the Easterns manage; for, although parts of their funeral rite are very sombre, even mournful, other parts are extremely jubilant, consisting, I believe, of triumphant hymns on the Resurrection. However, it is certain that our present service is more free from sombre elements than any other now in use; more like what might be thought suitable for a very primitive community, even for the Apostolic age.

* * * * *

Our parson last Sunday preached a very good sermon, telling us that if people who disbelieved in the Sacraments held the Incarnation, it was by a 'happy inconsistency'; and he consecrated standing before the altar.

To the Rev. ——, on Christmas, Positivism, the Burial Office.

OXFORD,
Christmas Eve, 1863.

Christmas has begun for me, for I have just come back from the 'first vespers' at Merton. The Church was, for the first time in my knowledge of it, decorated with evergreens and beautiful devices at the east end, and flowers on the altar. In fact, the choir looked really glorious, and the

singing was what it always is. What a wonderful thing Christmas is, with its power of concentrating the whole Christian religion into a small compass, and blending so perfectly the awful and the joyous elements, and making everything seem fresh and young again! I am writing this while the first peals are beginning from different churches, and before I go down to Magdalen.

* * * * *

W—— read me an extract from a letter of Symonds's;[1] he is at Florence, and has met C—— there, who has expounded to him his Positivist system. No God, no future life, but contented devotion to the interests of humanity, without 'selfish' hopes or fears. This system, the wretched apostate hopes, will one day, ere long, be universally recognised as furnishing all the supports and motives needed by man. Symonds will not, I trust, be gulled by such infatuated nonsense; but a sentence in his letter about his indefiniteness of views, owing to a 'frost of scepticism,' made one very anxious. He has no groundwork of doctrinal religion. W—— wishes he would carefully read the historical account of our Lord's life, and work that well into his mind.

* * * * *

I have written again to his Grace of York, after looking over the old Latin rituals—*i.e.*, the really ancient ones—in respect to prayers at funerals, etc. I find even more emphatically hopeful language about the person dead than in

[1] The late Mr. J. A. Symonds.

our own Office—*e.g.*, 'Quem Dominus de laqueo hujus sæculi liberare dignatus est'[1]; 'Assumpsisti consummatione felici'[2]; 'Quem in requiem Tuam vocare dignatus es.'[3] I found no parallel exactly to 'we give Thee thanks,' etc., and none at all to 'hasten Thy kingdom.' But it is clear that these old Offices, like ours, presumed that the person had died as a Christian, and I again said to the Archbishop that I thought no burial service which would be tolerable to Christian feelings, or in any respect consistent with ancient models, could avoid treating the person buried as one who had not, by the circumstances of his death, forfeited his Christian character. And then, so long as our service does make this necessary assumption, the scandals now complained of will exist; in other words, we never can have or tolerate a rite which would suit a non-Christian as well as a Christian. The scandals will not be cured by any alterations which we could endure to think of.

To the Rev. ——, *on hymns.*

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 6, 1887.

Many thanks for your kind letter. I have not seen the *Literary Churchman*, and have not the least intention of troubling myself about Mr. V—— or his opinion of any hymns of mine. I think I once saw the *Altar Hymnal*, and I am pretty

[1] Wilson, *The Gelasian Sacramentary*, p. 298.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 302. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 303.

sure I should not like it, as I do not like the *Hymnal Noted*. As for unreality, that is a vague charge: what is very real to A will often be mere fantasy to B; minds are cast in such various types, that on such a point they often simply cannot approach each other. I can honestly say that *I* never published in either of my two volumes a hymn, or any such composition, which was not real *to me*. They have usually been written, so to say, because I could not help it; they expressed (I do not say, in all cases, wholly) what was really working in my own mind. There are a *few* hymns of mine, I grant, which were written in compliance with requests, but I have taken care to make them intrinsically 'genuine,' exactly as one would try to make one's sermons genuine instead of putting one's hearers off with what one 'thought it the right thing to say.' The question of 'objective' and 'subjective' hymns is one which suffers for want of a discriminate use of terms. What people mean, I suppose, when they denounce 'subjective hymns,' considered as for use in Church, is that many such compositions go to excess in the unreserved expression of feelings which are not likely to come within the average Christian experience; and particularly that in some instances, there is an effusion of devout sentiment which does not really strengthen the principle of devotion, but may rather dilute its force. I myself said as much in an article in the *Church Quarterly Review*[1] for April, 1884, and I seriously think that

[1] *English Hymnology*, *Church Quarterly Review*, vol. xviii., No. xxxv., p. 89 *sqq*.

Hymns Ancient and Modern wants pruning in this respect, that several hymns admitted by the Editors are repellent to the ordinary masculine mind.

All this I grant, or more than grant; but at the same time I would guard against the falsehood of extremes in that form which, I presume, is represented by Mr. V——. Hymnody is meant, in the first instance, to be an element in the offering of adoration and praise; but it has a kindred and yet a distinct purpose—to provide a means of utterance for the religious affections in the Divine Presence—of utterance more free and fervid than the forms of a liturgy can supply. If we confine the language of hymns, as I suppose Mr. V—— would wish, to the simple recitation of, or meditation on, revealed facts, we stop up this vent, and ignore a want which the religious spirit cannot but feel as natural. The result would be chilling. On this rigid theory I doubt whether twenty celebrated hymns by English writers would be allowed a place in a hymn-book. I know it is said, 'Look at the oldest Latin hymns and see how sternly self-repressed, how concise, how unexuberant they are.' Yes; and what English congregation could assimilate them without amplification of some kind? And when were they written? While the Latin races were learning, but had not fully learnt, how Christianity was to expand their sympathies.[1] We are not as the old Latin Christians: we must speak in tones natural

[1] *Cf.* Dean Church, *Influences of Christianity on National Character*, pp. 54 *sqq.* (ed. 1873).

to our own hearts; it is pedantry to enforce on us their canons of taste, it is cant to talk of 'objectivity in hymns' as requiring a surrender of all that goes beyond their standard. Here is more than I had meant to inflict upon you, but it is well to say what one thinks on a matter which requires a *distinguendum*. I shall assuredly not reply to Mr. V——.

To the organist of the Cathedral Church of Christ in Oxford.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 2, 1893.

Dr. Ince, I find, desiderated a New Year's hymn yesterday, as well as the one which referred to the Circumcision. I have looked into *Hymns Ancient and Modern*, and the three set down for New Year's Day, 72, 73, 74, seem to me poor beyond ordinary poverty, and No. 485 is not really better. But 288 and 289 have both, I think, been used at the time in Cathedral; certainly 165 has, and that is the best and most expressive of all to my mind. Personally I like it far better than 288 or 289. Perhaps you would make a note about this. It is true that the New Year is only referred to in the Prayer-Book in a single rubric, yet it is also true, as Dr. Ince says, that we all do, as a matter of course, associate New Year thoughts with the festival of the Circumcision; and perhaps, if I may suggest as much, it might meet the case if on January 1 there were

two hymns, referring severally to the two aspects of the day. In regard to one of these aspects, let me add my best wishes, and remain. . . .

P.S.—The service, sung by men this morning, seemed to me noble, with a peculiar simplicity and force.

To the same.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
July 15, 1893.

Do you think we might suspend, at least, the use of Hymn 221 ('Let saints on earth') for 'black-letter' Saints' days? The original by Charles Wesley (which has been greatly altered) stands in Wesley's Hymn-book among those on 'Time, Death, and the Future State.' The hymn, whether in its original or its present form, seems much more appropriate for a funeral than for a minor festival, and Mr. Julian says it first appeared among Charles Wesley's funeral hymns.[1] The word 'saints' is clearly used in its general New Testament sense, not in its later specific meaning, and the hymn itself is not among those which are recommended for use on Saints' days after hymn 429. It has, no doubt, been long used here, but I doubt whether it might not be superseded on such occasions by some others more directly appropriate.

[1] *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 248.

To the same.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
December 30, 1893.

As for translations of the Sarum Office hymns, it would be, I fancy, a very difficult piece of work. I have never at all satisfied myself in attempts to translate ancient hymns, except in, perhaps, two instances. And I should think that the Sarum hymns in question would be hardly available owing to the frequency of invocations of saints contained in them. Moreover—but this is a question of taste—I seem to feel an atmosphere of chilliness and hardness in this class of hymns. They do not impress one like the *Veni Creator*, or the *Veni Sancte*, or the *Dies Iræ*, etc. Somehow, Latin of the ecclesiastical or Christian type seems to me more frequently successful when relieved from the constraint of metre: there are far more Latin collects than hymns which attain to a high degree of excellence. Even the old Ambrosian[1] or Gregorian hymns have, to my thinking, overmuch of stiffness and reserve; and although 'gushing' hymns are objectionable, and some samples of that class are even offensive, they represent a craving for which the Prayer-Book does not sufficiently provide, and which many, at least, of the Breviary hymns refuse in the most absolute sense to satisfy. I wish *Hymns Ancient and*

[1] Twelve hymns are printed in *Ambrosii Opera*, tom. II., pars i. *ap.* Migne, *P.L.*, tom. xvi., col. 1,409 *sqq.*, and are acknowledged by the Benedictine editors to be genuine. *Cf.* Batiffol, *Histoire du Bréviaire romain*, p. 164 *sqq.*

Modern were more satisfactory than it is in the matter of Saints' day hymns. Should you not like to do a little weeding out in that collection? I should. The compilers have been too tolerant of prosaic, or feeble, or pointless language, and the hymns for red-letter days are in several cases sadly vapid.

To the same.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
March 31, 1894.

Might we have Hymn 201 on some day during the Ascension Octave? It is a fine hymn, one of the Scotch paraphrases, by a young poet who died early, and whose compositions were dishonestly claimed by another after his death. Perhaps it might be worth considering against next Easter, whether Hymn 127 or 132 might not, by way of experiment, be tried at Evensong on Easter Day instead of Hymn 125, which assumes a view as to the descent into Hades, which, as Dr. Ince reminds us, is questionable, although it was, I suppose, undoubtingly received in the mediæval Church. Moreover, the 'crying aloud' in connection with 'Judah's Lion' disagreeably recalls the notion on which Neale[1] tells us it is based, that the lion's whelps are born dead, but vivified by his roaring over them!

The boys, I think, occasionally—perhaps the choir in general—would benefit by being reminded that it is better not to be turning over the leaves of music-books during the lessons.

[1] *Mediæval Hymns*, p. 49 (3rd ed., 1867). *Cf.* Julian, *Dictionary of Hymnology*, p. 224.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on an authorized hymnal.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
May 7, 1894.

I am very glad that you feel with me on the Hymnal question. I did not say, what, of course, I felt, that a Convocational Hymnal would mean a Hymnal of compromise. There would be a process of levelling up and down. 'We must alter this phrase, it will offend A. B., and we must have that hymn, for C. D. are accustomed to it.' (But I don't think you have in your Convocation as we have in ours a grave Archdeacon who would intimate—somewhat indirectly, it is true—an objection to 'Son of Mary, hear,' professedly on the ground that our Lord should be always addressed with reference to His Divine Nature—as if He could be addressed in prayer apart from that Nature as a basis, and as if the Litany did not call Him 'Son of David'! No, you have not got an Archdeacon ——!) Nor did I care, at the close of a debate in which the advocates of an authorized Hymnal were manifestly the feeblest of minorities, to dwell on the futility, in our circumstances, of an analogy between the Book of Common Prayer and a brand-new Book of Common Praise: or between such services as those for harvest festivals or intercession days which are outside the ordinary course of Church going, and which filled up a blank when they were supplied, and so disturbed no old associations, and such a Hymnal as would

bring Convocational authority to bear on the conscience of clergy and people on at least every Sunday of their lives, to the ousting of books which they had learned to use and love.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on harvest festivals.

Christ Church, Oxford,
October 2, 1899.

Wheeler tells me that you are to have a harvest festival in the Cathedral. I am glad, I confess, that we here do not observe those 'festivals of natural providence,' seeing that they have become so inordinately popular in England at the expense of the festivals of Grace—a bad sign, I think, for English religion. At Salisbury one could hardly get a Church without the usual display of loaves and vegetables on the Sunday that I spent there. And the hymns provided are so washy!

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the Spanish reformers.

Royal Station Hotel, York,
July 26, 1894.

The letter of the Bishop of Iowa[1] seemed to me entirely unsatisfactory. He drew a parallel

[1] To *The Times*: reprinted in *The Guardian* of July 25, 1894.

between the Spanish reformers' Office-book and that earlier edition of the American Prayer-Book[1] as to which the English Bishops suggested (he says) only a few slight changes before confirming the succession. The parallel is worthless. The period was one in which doctrinal perceptions were comparatively torpid; the true bearing of liturgical changes had not been appreciated, as now it is. And we know, too, that the Spanish book, with its deliberate exclusion of the idea of grace conveyed, not merely pledged, through sacraments, is distinctly intended, or, at least, welcomed, by Archbishop Plunket as representing what he would like to see in the way of Prayer-Book revision for Ireland.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on the mosaic in Keble College Chapel.*

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
December 4, 1897.

May I supplement the letter of the Principal of Cuddesdon and Canon Newbolt on this subject by quoting a few words from Archbishop Trench's volume on the *Epistles to the Seven Churches*?

He speaks of the 'descriptions of the glorified Lord' in Rev. i. 13 *sqq.*, as 'sublime as a purely mental conception, but unendurable if we were to give it an outward form and expression.' He points out that Hebrew religious symbolism, except in the one case of the cherubim, was never

[1] 'The Proposed Book' of 1785.

intended to be embodied in 'outward form and shape,' and he proceeds:

'Thus in the present description of Christ, sublime and majestic as it is, . . . it is only such so long as we keep it wholly apart from any external embodiment. Reproduce it outwardly—the sword going forth from the mouth, the eyes as a flame of fire, the hair white as wool, the feet as molten brass—and each and all of these images in one way or another violate and offend our sense of beauty.'[1]

To adopt some of the features of the description for pictorial representation, and to drop others, is clearly an inconsistent course, as when the sword is depicted as hovering in the air near the Lord's mouth but not actually issuing from it.

I can speak for one member of the council of Keble College as unable to look at this particular mosaic without regretting that Dr. Pusey's 'two-fold objection' was not allowed to prevail.

[1] Trench, *Epistles to the Seven Churches*, p. 47 (4th ed., 1886).

IV

Historical Subjects

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on the ancient British Church.*

March 14, 1888.

I DESIRE to echo the words of my friend Mr. —— as to the mischief done by those reconstructions of our old Church history which Church Defence meetings and the like have unfortunately made popular. They do, indeed, 'put a handle into the hands of Roman controversialists,' and they illustrate the conditions under which, in the Roman domain itself, a strong bias and a disregard of evidence have too often changed history into something little better than legend.

The bias, in the present case, is an eager determination to treat the English Church as simply the British Church enlarged, in order to minimize the obligations of English Christianity to Latin Christendom. The disregard of evidence may, I fear, be summarized in a single proposition—that

persons speak and write about the subject *without having read their Bede.*[1]

To take a few particular points. Would anyone who had read Bede and knew what he meant by the term 'Scot' confound the 'Scots' with the Picts, Northern or Southern? Would such a person speak of Paulinus as a 'comrade monk of Augustine's train'? Would he disparage 'the Roman's' planting as 'only surface deep,' as a thing which 'withered' under the first heat of persecution? Would he apply the term 'apostasy,' which Bede uses of Osric and Eanfrid, to the whole body of Northumbrian converts, many of whom were massacred by a so-called Christian British King, who outdid his heathen ally, Penda, in cruelty towards the Christian English? Would he forget that during that sad year James the Deacon remained in Yorkshire, bravely fulfilling the work of an evangelist? Would he assume that, when that year was at an end, Aidan 'found nothing to water' after six years of 'prodigious labour,' as Canon Raine calls it, on the part of 'the great missionary' whom the Church of York honours as St. Paulinus? Would he forget that East Anglia owed its Christianity, in the first instance, to the influence of Paulinus, and in the second to a foreign Bishop 'sent' from Canterbury, whose work was especially successful in linking education to religion? Would he ignore the apostolate of Birinus, who came into

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *Chapters in Early English History*, and *Waymarks in Church History*, p. 279 *sqq.*, on the subject of this and the next two letters.

Wessex direct from Italy? Would he treat the Englishmen Cedd and Chad as simply children of 'the ancient British Church,' whereas the former had nothing to do with that Church, and the latter was only connected with her through his consecration? St. Chad, as a boy, had been a pupil of St. Aidan, and Cedd was ordained and consecrated by Finan; but Aidan and Finan were not Britons, but Irishmen. How often must it be pointed out that 'British' and 'Irish' are not interchangeable terms?

Then as to the alleged connection of 'the ancient British Church' with the conversion of the English. People begin with a preconception that the English Church grew out of the British, and, when they are told that this will not stand, they fall back on a circuitous argument which is to give them as much as possible of the advantages of that preconception. Thus—David and other Welsh ecclesiastics instructed Finnian of Clonard; Finnian instructed Columba; Columba founded Icolmkill; from Icolmkill came Aidan into Northumbria; and Aidan's successor sent a mission into the Midlands, which also restored the faith in Essex. Therefore a very large part of England owes its Christianity, in the last resort, to the old Welsh Church—Q.E.D.

Now, first, as to the dates. Finnian of Clonard appears to have returned from Wales to Ireland before 520. Columba was born in 521. He was ordained deacon under Finnian of *Moville*. He is said to have been one of the twelve chief disciples of Finnian of Clonard; yet there are

some chronological difficulties about the statement, and Lanigan (*Eccl. Hist. Ireland*, ii., p. 117), does not treat it as quite certain. Anyhow, he must have left Clonard before he was twenty-five, for he founded the monastery of Derry in 546. It was seventeen years later (and before Gildas visited Ireland) that he founded Icolmkill; and although two of his monks there were 'Saxons,' it was not until seventy-two years after its foundation that the convent sent forth Aidan, in reply to the request of the English King, St. Oswald. Then, if Finnian's Welsh teachers inspired him with any zeal for missions to the heathen, it is remarkable that they did not act on their own teaching with regard to the heathen on their own border. For we know of no attempt made by the Welsh Church in that century to convert the Saxons or Angles; and in the next century she not only refused to work with Augustine in that field, but refrained from entering it for herself, and was supposed to treat English Christianity as 'worth nothing.' It is no pleasure to dwell upon this fact; but it has to be emphasized, because it has been slurred over, and it considerably affects the claim made for that Church to a 'large indirect share in the English conversion.' Her 'direct' relation to that work was one of abstention. I repeat, with grateful acknowledgment of its truth and clearness, the words of your Article: 'The British Church stood aloof, and had no share in the work, but was afterwards constrained to merge itself in the English Church.' Then it was that the English Church acquired

continuity with the body which had sent delegates to Arles and to Ariminum, and that continuity is something for us to prize.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on agencies in the conversion of England.*

August 28, 1889.

Canon Body is reported, in your last number, to have said that—

'There was no portion of England which owed its Christianity to the Roman Mission, except the county of Kent, and some portions of the county of Middlesex; that Paulinus did, indeed, "build a Church"—*i.e.*, gather together a flock—in Yorkshire, but after he fled, at the moment of danger, the people recently won to the faith were not established in it, and the whole of the people of Yorkshire and Bernicia—that is, Durham and Northumberland—relapsed into heathendom, and continued in that state until, at length, missionaries came from Iona, a missionary station established by the Church in Ireland,' whose great missionary, St. Patrick, had come 'from Scotland to preach in Ireland, and therefore had gained his Christianity through British Christianity, which, traced to its source, was distinctly Oriental, and not in any sense Western.'

If I venture to question the completeness and entire accuracy of this representation, it is purely in the interest of historical truth. When Canon Body says that British Christianity in its origin

was exclusively Oriental, he can hardly mean that it came directly from the East, but only, I presume, that the Gallic Church, which in all likelihood sent the first mission into Britain, was itself founded from Asia Minor. It is fully admitted that various links of connection between British Christianity and the East can be pointed out, and will be found, for instance, fully exhibited in Mr. Warren's learned volume on the Celtic Church,[1] although the advocates of the Celtic Easter-rule were easily confuted when they identified it with the old Ephesian tradition. St. Patrick was a North-British Christian, but as a missionary to Ireland he came not from his native Church, but apparently from the Church of Gaul, which was in close fellowship with the West in general. But as to the results of the 'Roman Mission' to our country, may not one be excused for attributing to a controversial bias not a little of the disposition recently shown by popular speakers to disparage the work of the emissaries of Pope Gregory? Do we not, after all, owe a deep debt of gratitude to him and to those whom he sent? Is there not a sense in which Augustine of Canterbury may be called our 'apostle,' in that, when our fathers were sitting in darkness, it was he who inaugurated the period of their illumination? Before he landed at Ebbsfleet no one had taken such a task in hand; no Irish or British Christians had ever endeavoured to Christianize the hated and

[1] Warren, *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church*, pp. 46 *sqq.*

dreaded 'Saxon' people. It was Augustine who opened the path in which others after his day followed. We may grant that, as Dean Stanley has said, he was 'not a man of any great elevation of character.' He showed some narrowness, some self-importance, some want of tact, and some asperity; he had not a long episcopate; his personal ministry did not cover a large field. Kent was thoroughly won, and it was no small achievement to found the See of Canterbury. London became, for a time, the seat of a missionary Bishop; and after Augustine's death the East Anglian King was baptized in Kent, and although he afterwards made a compromise with paganism, his son, *cum sua provincia*, received the faith from Northumbria during the Episcopate of the Roman-born Paulinus. (I do not pause to notice the doubt that has been raised as to Paulinus's nationality.) The East Anglians did, indeed, relapse for three years, and were reclaimed by Felix the Burgundian. But who 'sent' Felix? An Archbishop of Canterbury.

Again, as to the immediate work of Paulinus as Bishop (not Archbishop) of York, it consisted, certainly, in the laying of foundations, rather than in the erection of a structure; he had not time nor instruments for more; but his energy was felt in remote parts of the North country, and when his royal convert was slain, and he, rightly or not, deemed himself bound to reconduct the widow to her native Kent, he left behind him 'James the deacon,' whose labours 'in teaching and baptizing' were full of fruit. And did 'the

whole' of the North-country people fall back into heathenism? We find no such statement in Bede; it is not to the converts of Paulinus as a body, but to the two wretched princes who attempted to reign after Edwin that he ascribes the guilt of 'apostasy.' Nor was the mission of St. Aidan, as Canon Body seems to imply, long subsequent to the 'flight' of Paulinus; little more than a year intervened. And although Aidan found much to do, and so did it as to attract a peculiar enthusiasm of loving reverence, our only real authority does not warrant us in assuming that he found his predecessor's 'influence' extinct, and had to begin the whole work *de novo*. Rather, he took up, he consolidated, he widely extended, during his sixteen years, what Paulinus had begun in six. One would not compare Paulinus with him in point of pure saintliness; the singular beauty of his character was appreciated, we are told, at Canterbury and in East Anglia; but one can hardly help surmising that Paulinus would have been more generously judged if he had not represented 'the Roman Mission.' Nor is it well to forget that while Mercians owed their conversion, and East Saxons their reconversion, to missionaries, mostly Anglian, ordained by Aidan's successor, Wessex was evangelized by an Italian who came to Britain by the 'counsel' of one Pope, and Sussex by an Anglian who had been banished for appealing to another.

Honour to whom honour is due, and thanks, under the Supreme Giver, to whom thanks, be they Celts, Teutons, or Latins. It ought not,

surely, to be difficult to put aside the disturbing considerations of even the most necessary polemics, when we are trying to estimate the manifold forces which were so mercifully combined to bring us, as the Whitsuntide Proper Preface touchingly words it, 'into the clear light and true knowledge of the Father and of the Son.'

To a Priest of the American Church, on the ancient British Church.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
June 11, 1893.

(1) As to the Article on the ancient British Church in the *Guardian* of February 8, 1888. It is not mine, but comes from the pen of a much higher authority, the late Professor Freeman. He himself admitted to me that it was his, but no one who knew his style could have any doubt of the authorship. There can be no harm in stating the fact publicly; the article is of practical value, and I hope you may secure its publication. It will clear away a great many errors.

(2) As to Mr. L—— (author of a Catechism of Church History, published in America), what you quote proves one thing beyond all doubt or question, and it is a thing of some moment with regard to his qualifications for instructing American Churchmen in Early English Church History. It is that he has never read Bede. Had he done so, he never would have put together such a *farrago* as the passage contains. He would have learned

that the 'British' and the Welsh persistently refused to aid in evangelizing the Saxons, and that they regarded the Christianity of the converted Saxons as not worthy of the name. Bede is explicit on that point, and Aldhelm had already gone into fuller details.[1] The English Church, as a matter of fact, was not developed out of the Welsh by any process of development; on the contrary, it grew up without Welsh help, and it was only by a long gradual process that the Welsh, old British, Church first approximated to the English by conforming to the Catholic Easter, and then through several centuries, became more and more absorbed into or incorporated in the English; a consummation which Haddan and Stubbs place at the end of the thirteenth century.[2] That the English episcopate is derived from the Welsh is simply an imagination.

3. Dr. W——'s letter is an example of this futility of talking about 'England' and the English Church, when he means 'Britain' and the British. There could be no English Church or English national settlement in this island before the Angles and Saxons subdued it. Your reply is quite correct. I might, perhaps, express myself a little otherwise on points of detail. Paulinus actually secured a formal acceptance of Christianity by the Northumbrian kingdom as such. He laid a foundation on which Aidan built. He finally evangelized at least North Lincolnshire, and his

[1] *Cf.* Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. iii., p. 271.

[2] *Ibid.*, i., pp. 552 *sqq.*

influence through Edwin produced the first conversion of East Anglia, although Felix afterwards had to do the work over again, at least to a great extent. It would be clearer (would it not?) to read 'Northumbria' instead of 'North Britain,' with regard to Cedd's work in the Midlands; and I think I should make it clear that he and two other of the original four missionaries to the Mid-Angles were Angles, though trained under the Irish episcopate of Lindisfarne. It is quite true in one sense that Theodore was the founder of the Church of England, but an average reader might not know in what sense—*i.e.*, as the consolidator and organizer of the English Churches into one.

Augustine, of course, was the founder of the original English Church life; he was an Apostle in the sense of a first evangelizer (Bishop Lightfoot's substitution of Aidan[1] is misleading). Myths die hard when they serve polemical interest; and the historical sense of some English Churchmen has been distorted by a wish to minimize our obligation to the Continental Churches, especially the Roman. That we are deeply indebted to the Irish Church goes without saying; but not to the British Church, as such, although the British Bishops took part in Chad's consecration, and doubtless British Christians may have done much as individuals of which history takes no account.

[1] Lightfoot, *Leaders in the Northern Church*, p. 9.

To the Rev. ——, on early British Church history.

Christ Church, Oxford,
September 19, 1898.

The first thing to be done, I suppose, in regard to your subject would be to introduce your students to the original texts as given in the first volume of Haddan and Stubbs—I mean the first part of that first volume.

Gildas takes up not a few pages, and considerable allowance must be made for his 'sæva indignatio' in the estimate of his diatribes; but he must have had some substratum of fact as to the deterioration of British Church life among clergy as well as among princes, etc.

The best manual that I know of on early British Church History in general is Archdeacon Pryce's book.[1] It is sensible, lucid, and very readable; the notes also give excellent references and short extracts. I referred to it in the last edition of my *Chapters of Early English Church History*,[2] in which I have said pretty much what I could consider historically worth saying on the period. The truth is, there is not very much to be known, as distinct from legend and surmise; and there has been a good deal of conjectural history built up by patriotic enthusiasm. Legends always have a certain value, and the stories of Cornish Saints are given with detail and a good deal

[1] *The Ancient British Church* (ed. 1878).
[2] 3rd ed., 1897, p. 6, note 3.

of interesting comment in Borlase's *Age of Saints*. The life of David is best studied in Freeman and Jones's *History of St. David's*, a monumental work. I need not mention so important a little book as your Oxford Principal's *Celtic Britain*,[1] and there is a small book by Romilly Allen on the *Monumental History of the Early British Church*, which is worth consulting. But the period simply does not afford us any continuous and trustworthy record; we have to do the best we can with landmarks and glimpses —'broken lights' as I called them.

To the Rev. ——, on St. Aidan.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
St. Chad's Day, 1898.

I do not admit that, in regard to apostleship, Augustine and Aidan are on a par. Aidan's work was more extensive and lasted longer than Augustine's, and his character is more beautiful and attractive. But he was not, properly speaking, apostle even of the Northumbrians, and he did nothing at all for any outside their borders. He was not their apostle because he was not their first evangelist.

The mischief done to historical proportion in this matter by Lightfoot's uncritical antithesis[2] (prompted, no doubt, by the natural *pietas* of a Bishop of Durham) has been incalculable.

[1] Rhys, Celtic Britain (1892).
[2] See above, p. 217.

I wonder that no one has placed Birinus in the position which Aidan is made to hold. He really was the apostle, or first evangelist, of the great district of Wessex, extending from Devonshire to Bedfordshire. I think that for you in Mercia—for a church in Birmingham—St. Chad, whom we all honour on this day, would have been a more appropriate figure for religious commemoration than Aidan, to whom directly the Midlands owe nothing, for the mission to Mercia was sent forth after his death.

Of course, I do not forget that Chad had personally sat at the feet of Aidan, but that was in his boyhood.

To the same, on the same subject.

Christ Church, Oxford,
March 4, 1898.

Thanks. I see your point about Palladius, but his presence in Ireland seems to have effected nothing whatever. He failed—that is, if we can trust the somewhat vague stories about him.[1] Now, Paulinus did not fail, considering the short time that he had for missionary work. He obtained the national adhesion of Northumbria to Christianity ; he laboured mainly, of course, in Deira or Yorkshire, but we find him catechizing and baptizing for weeks together in remote villages of Northumbria—I mean of the county which has this name. 'His labours,' says Canon Raine in

[1] Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, vol. II., part ii., pp. 290 *sq.*

his history of the Archbishoprick of York, 'must have been prodigious'[1] and it is obvious that all this work could not possibly, as the 'Aidanolaters' are pleased to assume, have been undone in the space of a single year, which intervened between the death of Edwin and the accession of Oswald.

There are clear indications in Bede's language that there were permanent effects of Paulinus's work existing, which Aidan found when he arrived; that he often, in short, had not to lay the foundation, but to build upon it.

To the Rev. Canon ——, in reply to an inquiry on the study of Scottish Church history.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
December 10, 1885.

I used to read Scottish Church History in a two-volume work by Bishop Russell,[2] called

[1] *Fast. Ebor.*, i., p. 42. *Cf.* Bright, *Chapters*, etc., p. 138 (ed. 1897).

[2] The Rev. R. G. Fookes, an intimate friend of Dr. Bright's, who now has many of his books, writes: 'In recent years Dr. Bright was accustomed to recommend W. Stephen's *History of the Scottish Church*, and Bishop Dowden's little work on *The Celtic Church in Scotland*. . . . His copies of Lawson's *Episcopal Church of Scotland from the Reformation to the Revolution*, and *History of the Scottish Episcopal Church from the Revolution to the Present Time* have been a good deal used; but his copy of Russell is very fully annotated. . . . I have two of Dr. Bright's note-books on Scottish Church History, one containing a continuous and clearly-written history from the earliest times down to the year 1690, and the other a series of notes on miscellaneous points of importance.'

History of the Church in Scotland. There are other and longer works; the best of these is in four volumes, by Mr. Grub (infelicitous name!) of Aberdeen. It is called *Ecclesiastical History of Scotland.* A moderate-sized manual does not, to my knowledge, exist. There is a pretty little introduction to Scottish History in general by a Miss Kinloch[1]; it tells one, pleasantly enough, a good deal about the ancient Scottish Church. The second volume of Skene's *Celtic Scotland* gives a good deal of sound information about St. Columba, and about those Culdees whom Presbyterian fancy has so fondly idealized into Presbyterian or quasi-Presbyterian ministers. I wish I did know of any one commodious book like Perry's *Student's English Church History.* Of course, the main points to attend to are:

1. The early Missions: Ninian, Kentigern, Columba, etc.

2. The unorganized state of the Church up to the foundation of the See of St. Andrews.

3. The introduction of Roman and English ecclesiastical culture by Queen Margaret.

4. The relations of the Church of Scotland to that of England as complicated by the Wars of Independence.

5. The erection of the two archbishoprics late in the fifteenth century.

6. The deep corruption or secularization of tone in the Church just before the Reformation.

7. The overthrow of the old Church by Knox's movement.

[1] *A History of Scotland, chiefly in its Ecclesiastical Aspect.*

8. Nominal and gradual restoration of Episcopacy under James VI.

9. Real restoration of Episcopacy, 1611.

10. Overthrow of the Church in the days of the Covenant.

11. Restoration under Charles II.

12. Third overthrow, or 'disestablishment' under William and Mary.

To the Rev. ——, on the Western Canon Law.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 22, 1900.

I own that I am not at all an expert on the subject of Western Canon Law; nor, to say the truth, do I think that the study of it is practically fruitful, considering the dependence of mediæval Canonists on the traditionary belief in Papal supremacy, or, in other words, of the mass of mediæval legislation on the False Decretals. The mediæval period is not one to which we should naturally look for intelligent and equitable definition of clerical or Christian duty. It was a time in which the multiplication of restrictive law for its own sake was a passion with ecclesiastical legislators; more and more laws—Pelion on Ossa—were piled up, on the assumption that this was to promote the cause of the Church, whereas it was rather to furnish a colossal illustration of the *littera occidens*. You might look for information to an article in the *Church Quarterly Review*,[1]

[1] *The Legal and Historical Value of the Study of the Canon Law* (*Church Quarterly Review*, vol. XVI., No. xxxii., pp. 270 *sqq.*).

July, 1883, or to Robertson's *History of the Church*, vol. v., p. 431; vol. vi., p. 409. Doubtless all legislative work has an interest of its own, but we of the present English Church shall gain, I fear, but little available guidance from the Decretum or the successive books of Decretals.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on Wycliffe's views.*

Christ Church, Oxford,
May 30, 1884.

. . . Now, assuming the above to be a correct representation of Wycliffe's theory, what does it come to? Surely to this: All mortal sin cancels the effect of ordination. When one who has been ordained a priest falls into this unhappy state, he ceases to be a priest; although he may go through all his exterior functions, they are destitute of interior validity. If he celebrates, the consecration is null so far as he is concerned; all that can be 'hoped' is that Christ Himself will consecrate, instead of or without him, and that thus the communicants will not be losers. But this is only a matter of 'hope'; the communicants, if they know the celebrant to be a bad man, cannot be sure that they will receive the Holy Eucharist; they must do the best they can amid inevitable uncertainty. He may, to the knowledge at least of some among them, be in mortal sin on one Sunday; so far, then, as that day's service goes, they have to lean on the probability of an extraordinary operation of

Divine mercy. By the next Sunday he may have repented and been restored to grace. The moment this takes place he is invisibly, but effectually, *reordained;* he is as much a priest as ever, but those who know of his sin may not know of his recovery, and will then be still in anxiety when they should be full of confidence. And so it may go on. Is this theory—I do not say comfortable for the private Christian, but—consistent with the teaching of the present English Church? Article XXVI. expressly says that when evil men administer the sacraments, they do so 'by Christ's commission and authority.' In other words, they *are* true priests, their wickedness notwithstanding, and so far as their sacramental ministrations are concerned, their people need be under no anxiety whatever. The whole context of the Article surely implies that however seriously mortal sin may affect the priest as a man, it affects him not at all in regard to his Orders or the validity of what he does in his priestly character, so that as far as any such acts are concerned, his people may have exactly the same assurance—not mere 'hope' or 'supposition,' but assurance—as they would have in regard to the ministrations of a St. Polycarp or a Bishop Wilson. Such is unquestionably the orthodox Anglican doctrine, and if Wycliffe did not hold it, he must have fallen into a confusion between the personal and official character of the ordained ministers of Him Who is, as St. Thomas Aquinas says, the *Agens principalis*[1] in the sacraments (*Summa*, III. lxii. 1), the ever-present Be-

[1] See above, p. 118.

stower of that grace which He conveys through *media* entrusted to instrumental hands. On this point St. Augustine is a safer teacher than Wycliffe. He habitually insists that, just *because* Christ is the Lord of, and the supreme Agent in, sacraments, therefore they are altogether of the same validity when administered by bad or good priests. The sunlight, he says in one place, is in no wise contaminated by passing through a foul atmosphere (*De Baptismo*, iii., c. 10[1]). Again, in the same treatise, 'Neither outwardly *nor inwardly* can anyone who is on the side of the devil stain in himself or in anyone *sacramentum quod Christi est*' (iv. c. 12[2]). And, again, he asks the Donatists whether in their view, if one of their priests were secretly an adulterer, 'Per manus eius vel Christus vel Spiritus Sanctus, vel forte angelus, baptizavit?'

'If, then,' he proceeds, 'it is a man that baptizes when the baptizer is known to be good, but when the baptizer is secretly bad, then it is God or an angel that baptizes . . . those who desire to be baptized should wish that their baptizer might not be known to be good, but be secretly bad, so that they might attain to be born again in greater holiness, Deo vel angelo baptizante. Hanc absurditatem si cogitant evitare, *per quemlibet hominem*, cum quis Christi baptismo baptizatur, *Christum baptizare* fateantur.'

He adds that the passage, 'As My Father, . . . retained' (John xx. 21-23) 'contra nos esset, ut

[1] *Opera*, tom. ix., col. 113B (ed. Ben.).
[2] *Ibid.*, col. 132F.

cogeremur fateri *ab* hominibus hoc, non *per* homines fieri, si posteaquam dixit, *Et ego mitto vos*, subiecisset continuo, *Si cui dimiseritis*, etc. Cum vero interpositum est, *Hoc cum dixisset, insufflavit, et ait illis, Accipite Spiritum Sanctum*, et deinde illatum, per eos vel remissionem vel retentionem fieri peccatorum; satis ostenditur non ipsos id agere, sed *per* eos utique Spiritum Sanctum. . . . Spiritus autem Sanctus in ecclesiæ præposito vel ministro sic inest, ut si fictus (a hypocrite or insincere) non est, operetur per eum Spiritus *et* eius mercedem in salutem sempiternam, *et* eorum regenerationem . . . qui per eum . . . consecrantur. . . . Si autem fictus est (here a reference to Wisdom i. 5), deest quidem saluti eius . . . ministerium tamen eius non deserit, quo *per* eum salutem operatur aliorum' (*Contra Epist. Parmen.*, ii. c. 11[1]).

This was evidently, to St. Augustine, a 'matter of faith.' If Wycliffe or his followers held otherwise, may we not say, so much the worse for them?

To the Rev. ——, on the authority of the Homilies.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
March 12, 1889.

The Bishop of Winchester, in his book on the Articles calls the Homilies 'semi-authoritative.' 'All writers on the subject have agreed that the kind of assent which we are here called to give to

[1] *Opera*, tom. ix., col. 41.

them is general, not specific. We are not expected to express full concurrence with every statement or every exposition of Holy Scripture contained in them, but merely, in the general, to approve of them as a body of sound and orthodox discourses, and well adapted for the times for which they were composed.' The Homily of Salvation 'is of greater authority than the rest, being referred to in Article XI.'[1]

In Hook's *Church Dictionary* (7th edition, 1854) we find, quoted from Bishop Overall:

'They have many scapes in them in special, although they contain in general many wholesome lessons for the people.'

It is rather dangerous for Low Churchmen to appeal to the Homilies as if they were wholly authoritative. For they treat the Apocrypha as Scripture (*Against Peril of Idolatry*, part i.), and Toby and Baruch as prophets (*Of Almsdeeds*, i.; *Against Wilful Rebellion*, i.); describe the font as 'the fountain of regeneration' (*For Repairing of Churches*); use 'baptized' in closest connection with 'justified' (*Of Salvation*, iii.), and allow Absolution and Orders to be sacraments in a lax sense, only not such sacraments as Baptism and the Communion are (*Of Common Prayer and Sacraments*). In *An Homily of the Worthy Receiving . . . of the Sacrament*, part i., although the 'sacrifice' is denied, it seems to be denied in the sense of a proper propitiatory sacrifice such as Christ once made on the Cross, and in that homily we

[1] Browne, *An Exposition of the Thirty-nine Articles*, p. 777 (ed. 1882).

read that in the Supper 'there is no untrue figure of a thing absent' (although it does not appear from the context that the homilist meant an 'objective' presence, as it is called, yet he speaks of the 'ancient catholic fathers' as 'calling this Supper the salve or food of immortality,' etc.). Moreover, the doctrine of the Homilies on the subject of obedience to rulers goes the whole length of non-resistance even when rulers 'abuse their power' (*Concerning Obedience*, part ii.). And the second series of Homilies, if taken as strictly authoritative, would commit the Church for all time to the Tudor maxims of government. I pass by some historical errors and the queer blunder (*Of the Reading of Holy Scripture*) about 'Eunuchus, a nobleman of Ethiope.'

In fact, if anyone quietly considers it, there could not be a more intolerable burden than to inflict on us as perfectly authoritative those sets of long sermons, differing broadly in tone and style from the Prayer-Book. No party in the Church could endure it for a day. Traces, and more than traces, of red-hot controversial feeling are found repeatedly in the Homilies, although there is a good deal in them which is historically interesting and morally and doctrinally edifying. To claim more for them is to prove far too much.

To the Venerable Archdeacon of ——, on the word religion.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
December 4, 1892.

Trench makes the same remark[1] as to the sense of 'religion' in the Reformation age (see *English Past and Present*, p. 135 [ed. 1855]); but he overstates a little. 'Religion' is used absolutely and in a good sense in connection with 'God's word' in the *Homily against Contention*, part iii.; see also part i. of the same, at the beginning. Elsewhere it is used with qualifying terms, and once (*Homily on Good Works*, part ii.) as the equivalent of 'sect.'

Probably this use of the word, as not intrinsically good in its idea—at least, as not of itself meaning 'godliness'—was in part due to the fact that it had been technically applied to the monastic profession with its vows. (I wish we were not embarrassed, as we now are, by this restricted use of a great word, which suggests to the uninstructed that life is somehow not religious unless it is spent in a Sisterhood or Brotherhood.)

In *Titus Andronicus*, V. i. 74, 'religious' is connected with having a 'conscience' (this would quite agree with the old Latin use of the word); and see another good use of 'religion' in 2 *Henry IV.*, I. i. 201.

[1] 'Like the Latin *religio*, it means the outward forms and embodiments in which the inward principle of piety arrayed itself, the external service of God.'

In *Paradise Lost*, Book I. 372, 'gay religions full of pomp and gold,' the word has the sense of external observances.

Of course, one knows that the phrase 'religious life' is explained as a life exceptionally and exclusively devoted to religious acts, etc. But still it has a sound which might mislead.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on Church and State.*

February 4, 1881.

An 'English Churchman' argues in your last number that if the House of Commons is now ecclesiastically heterogeneous, so it was from 1549 to 1673, inasmuch as Protestant Dissenters sat in it then as now, and took full part in ecclesiastical legislation.

1. If it were as your correspondent supposes, Hooker's theory, to which he refers, would be unaccountable. For if Hooker, writing under Elizabeth, calls 'the Parliament of England, together with the convocation annexed thereunto, the body of the whole realm' (VIII. vi. 11), this is because 'there is not any man of the Church of England but the same man is also a member of the commonwealth, nor any man a member of the commonwealth which is not also of the Church of England' (VIII. i. 2). Church and State are, in fact, coextensive. It is one body under different names, representing its different aspects. 'In a word, our estate is according to the pattern of God's own ancient elect

people, which people were not part of them the commonwealth, and part of them the Church of God; but the self-same people, whole and entire, were both under one Chief Governor,' etc. (VIII. i. 7). Could Hooker have written thus if he had had before him such an England, and such a House of Commons, as we have in 1881? Were he alive now, would he not admit that the growth of religious dissensions among the community of citizens had made his theory obsolete?' (See Dr. Barry's paper on Hooker in *Masters of English Theology*, p. 57.)

2. But your correspondent appears to have confused two senses of the word 'Puritan.' The Puritans of Elizabeth's House of Commons were professing Churchmen, who desired to see the Church, in their own sense, further reformed. This is the very point of Wentworth's celebrated speech to Archbishop Parker, and of his words when reporting it to the House in 1576: 'I fear lest *our* Bishops do attribute to themselves' infallibility.[1] Real Nonconformity,[2] or organized Dissent, began about 1566, but took its most extreme form about 1580, in the Brownists, whom Neal describes as 'the separatists, who renounced all communion with the Church in the word and sacraments, as well as in the common prayer and ceremonies' (*History of the Puritans*,

[1] *Cf.* Hallam, *Constitutional History*, c. iv., vol. i., p. 192 (7th ed., 1854).

[2] [Dr. Bright was here using 'Nonconformity' in its modern sense as synonymous with 'Dissent.' For its historical meaning, as the opposite of 'Separatist,' see Dixon, *History of the Church of England*, iii., pp. 184 *sqq.*—Ed.]

i. p. 347). Compare Hallam's *Constitutional History*, c. iv. : 'The real separatists were denominated Brownists. . . . These went far beyond the Puritans.'[1] Both writers are referring to the severe statute[2] passed in 1593 against Nonconformity, after the Mar-prelate libels had given special offence, as Canon Perry shows in his *Student's English Church History*, ii. p. 336. It might well be deemed needless to exclude such men by a Church test from the House of Commons, when they were viewed as 'rebellious subjects' (*ibid.*, p. 366) and threatened by statute with imprisonment and exile. It was by law, as Canon Curteis says,[3] that these persons were penally dealt with. Some three weeks after the Long Parliament met (in November, 1640), all its members communicated from the hands of Bishop Williams, a table being, by special order of the House, set 'in the middle of the church on that occasion' (Neal, ii. p. 5). It was gradually drawn from the position of Puritan Churchmanship to that of virtual Presbyterianism—but by the necessity of securing Scottish help. Hence its acceptance of the Covenant[4] in 1643. It will hardly be maintained that this acceptance—the act of the whole body—can find a place among 'constitutional' precedents.

An 'English Churchman's' list of cases in

[1] Vol. i., p. 213 *sq.*

[2] 35 Eliz., c. 1, *ap.* Gee and Hardy, *Documents illustrative of English Church History*, pp. 492 *sqq.*

[3] *Dissent in its Relation to the Church of England*, p. 74 (6th ed., 1885).

[4] Gee and Hardy, p. 569 *sq.*

which the authority of Parliament, as acknowledged by Hooker, acted for the Church, significantly omits the one great statute[1] which, together with the action of Convocation so carefully recited in its preamble, represents the present ecclesiastical settlement as accepted by 'this Church and Realm' in 1661-2. It is little to say that he ignores the royal pledge contained in the Declaration prefixed to the Articles; but he should not forget that the House of Commons in 1689 reminded William III. of the ancient usage of bringing ecclesiastical matters before Convocation.[2] On his principles, one fails to see why Convocation exists at all as a constitutional body.

I need not dwell on that momentous change from a really royal to a really parliamentary government, which should never be lost sight of in any survey of the Post-Reformation relations of Church and State, and to which you refer in your leading article, as it was pointed out twelve years ago by Professor Burrows (*Constitutional Progress*, p. 160), and thirty years ago by Mr. Gladstone (*Letter on the Royal Supremacy*, reprinted in *Gleanings*, v. p. 262). And when your correspondent asks whether what is involved in the 'list of cases' is to be altered at the request of the Toleration memorialists, he seems to forget that they speak of 'State encroachment on rights assured to the Church of England by solemn Acts of Parliament'; so that, thus far,

[1] 14 Charles II., c. 4, Gee and Hardy, pp. 600 *sqq.*
[2] Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 410 (3rd ed., 1849).

they request that Parliament will adhere to its ancient engagements with the Church.

It is of no use to appeal to Hooker's theory of Church and State without remembering not only that time has made it untenable, but also what consequences it directly involved. For him, the Christian King, clothed with authority over the people in their character of Christians, as in their character of citizens, is like a Jewish King, a Jehoshaphat, and is bound to use the 'civil sword' for the Church's benefit, 'to keep her children in obedience withal' (VIII. iii. 4). On the other hand, although Hooker's monarchical views are obsolete in modern England—for he would clearly have disapproved of the Revolution of 1688 (VIII. ii. 10)—yet he set the King 'below the law,' denied him the power of 'jurisdiction' as of 'order,' and significantly observed that the 'Rule for proceedings in ecclesiastical affairs and causes by regal power had not hitherto been agreed upon with so uniform consent and certainty as might be wished' (VIII. ii. 16); adding, more boldly, 'Whether it be the nature of courts, or the form of pleas, or the kind of governors, or the order of proceedings, in whatsoever spiritual businesses, *for* the received laws and liberties of the Church the king hath supreme authority and power, *but against them none.* It would,' he proceeds, 'be very scandalous and offensive if, in principal matters of religion, either *kings* or *laws* should dispose of the affairs of God without any respect had to' ancient Church order; and he

cites with approval the clause in 1 Eliz., c. 1, § 36,[1] as to the prescribed criterion of heresy, including the decisions of the first four General Councils (VIII. ii. 17). Is not this pertinent to our present 'crisis'?

[1] The Act of Supremacy, *ap.* Gee and Hardy, pp. 442 *sqq.*

V

The Roman Question

To the Rev. ——, on the Roman claims.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September 22, 1889.

THERE is no doubt that Roman proselytism is, consciously or not, influenced by the unhappy tradition of lax casuistry which the last three centuries have rooted in the Latin Church system. Look, if you have the chance, at the *Church Quarterly Review* for April — an article on 'Certain Graver Aspects of the Roman Position.'[1] It dwells on the moral unsoundness of the system; it is by one who has had internal knowledge of what we only know from without. Sometimes a Roman controversialist like Rivington shows a readiness to say anything in presence of any evidence, as if really the sense of obligation to facts had been scooped out of them. Take one example: in his *Authority* he absolutely writes down, corrects in proof, and sends to press the assertion, that at the Council of Jerusalem St.

[1] Vol. XXVIII., No. lv., pp. 31 *sqq.*

Peter formulated the decree and all the rest signed it, beginning with St. James, and that the question between SS. Peter and Paul at Antioch was only of 'personal conduct' and 'practical expediency.' I have been dissecting his statements on ancient Church history (in his new book[1]) in an article for next month's *Church Quarterly Review*.[2] Such writers ought to be shown up. It is charlatanry when they handle patristic evidence; they assume a Papist's major premiss all through. As for Rivington himself, I suspect that in most cases he has been primed with passages taken out of contexts, and has deemed it a piece of religious loyalty not to 'verify the references.' If you can make the lad in question see that such self-chosen guides are not to be lightly trusted—and that really there was, in the mere dallying with such suggestions, a certain element of self-will and self-confidence—some moral good may ensue. Of course, he liked to think himself important enough to be addressed with a view to his 'conversion.' But what I never can sufficiently wonder at is, that youths who know that they cannot judge so complex a question in its historical and theological bearings, should think it consistent to play with bits of it—just those bits which a Roman proselytizer chooses to hold out to them. It is not like the case of a poor ignorant young soldier, who (as sometimes happens) wishing to marry a Roman

[1] *Dependence, or the Insecurity of the Anglican Position. Cf.* pp. 69, 74 (2nd ed., 1888).

[2] *A Roman proselyte on ancient Church History* (Vol. xxix., No. lvii., pp. 122 *sqq.*).

Catholic wife, accepts her religion 'in block,' on the simple assurance that 'there must be a teaching Church, and that the Roman Church alone is that Church.' We might, to be sure, take lessons from Rome as to careful catechetical training in some leading principles of Churchmanship. That is what the Lower House wanted to supply by their questions and answers, but the Upper House stopped us on a question of prerogative.[1] I wish the Catechism were more simply worded as to the sacraments. Many do not understand the construction of 'ordained by Christ Himself'; 'promise them both' is often puzzling to a child, and 'the faithful' is ambiguous. Moreover, some answers contain too much; they need practically to be broken up. I often wonder whether Overall had ever really taught a schoolboy, or rather, really catechized children. The first part is much more intelligibly worded. Still, after all deductions it is a most invaluable document, as far as it goes. Of course, beside the question of the Church, there are other subjects of importance on which it does not profess to give instruction.

To the same, on the same subject.

Christ Church, Oxford,
October 24, 1889.

I need not say that I am always most ready to answer questions which admit of a concise and definite reply within the compass of a letter. In

[1] See appendix.

vacation I would—that is, I can—give a wider scope to such questions; but in term, you know, one's leisure is limited. And the questions which you mention, on the whole, could not be fully answered without, so to speak, writing a regular chapter of Church History; *e.g.*, as to the relation of the African Episcopate to Rome in the Pelagian controversy, to which that doctrine of St. Augustine refers. If it be said that this doctrine has been 'condensed into that famous maxim,'[1] the answer is that the maxim was an impudent substitute for St. Augustine's own words,[2] omitting one capital feature of them. All I can say here is, that it is a subject treated of in histories; I think I have said something about it in my own. The one thing which can be put into a brief compass is: Let Fr. Bruno or any other Roman Catholic prove, instead of assuming, that the See of Rome in 418 held the position which it claims in 1889; that any respectful deference paid, say, to Pope Innocent I. by such prelates as St. Augustine carries with it the principles of the whole Vatican dogma about the Papal jurisdiction and infallibility. That dogma claims to represent aboriginal Christian tradition; therefore no theory of de-

[1] Bruno, [*Roman*] *Catholic Belief*, p. 44 (4th ed., 1883), gives the maxim as Roma locuta est, causa finita est.'

[2] St. Augustine wrote: 'Jam enim de hac causa duo concilia missa sunt ad sedem apostolicam: inde etiam rescripta venerunt: causa finita est.' *Sermo*, cxxxi., § 10 (*Opera*, tom. v., col. 645D). The phrase, as commonly misquoted, represents the matter as settled by Rome and Rome *only*. St. Augustine represents it as not settled till after 'the reports of the two councils, to which Rome's utterance was a reply.' *Cf.* Bright, *Roman See in the Early Church*, pp. 130 *sqq.*

velopment, except in mere expression, can be consistently held by obedient Romanists,[1] which considerably narrows the issue. But how can I, in a letter, disprove in detail the large assertion that all the Fathers imply Papal supremacy? Of course it is false; but one cannot prove its falsity without something like a pamphlet, or, better, a short treatise. It is utterly false that, *e.g.*, the Nicene Council was summoned by the Pope. On Vatican principles it need never have met at all.[2]

As for the objection with which this poor lad has been primed, 'Ah, those are Protestant authors,' anybody with common-sense might answer, 'Well, are Roman authors to be implicitly trusted to be judges in their own cause?' If I were dealing orally with a fairly educated inquirer, I would take him simply to ancient documents.

But the question is one which opens up deeper considerations. Is this youth morally competent to form an opinion on such matters? What has he read, what can he have read, save scraps of Fathers given him, or shown him, as quoted by Roman Catholic writers? How can he possibly estimate the proportion and the real significance of isolated passages, unless he can look at them as in the framework of the whole period? And if you allow him to think that he can really form a personal judgment on such questions, without having at all prepared himself by requisite study, are you not in danger of simply feeding self-conceit? If he talks of Transubstantiation, could

[1] Bright, *Roman See, etc.*, pp. 2 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, pp. 66 *sqq.*

he answer any elementary questions about the theory of substance and accidents? If he talks of Tradition, could he tell you how much he means by it, what points it covers, how far an unwritten tradition supplementary, in matters of faith, to Scripture can be historically proved? And if he does not know whether it can or not, how can he affect to argue from it as if proved? Again, if he were asked whether the idea of a continuous tradition were quite in harmony with the insistence on the simple voice of the actual Roman Church, would he know what to say? would he even know enough to understand your meaning? Poor fellow! Still, you will really, with the best intentions, be doing him harm if you allow him to pose as an arguer on a great theological and historical question. He is not to blame for not possessing the requisite knowledge; but is he not to blame if, without such knowledge, he assumes the responsibility of pronouncing his own Church wrong on a series of propositions in theology and in history? It were better for him to say, as some who know far more have said, 'I don't understand the historical question, and I don't pretend to weigh the several passages in the Fathers which are quoted on both sides; but the Roman system suits me, seems to meet my needs, corresponds with my own ideal.' Oakeley said this, and Ward, in effect, said this; but this lad, apparently, thinks himself qualified to discuss what Ward and Oakeley declined, substantially, to handle. I am not, for a moment, justifying their position; but it was more modest, and it

was more intelligible. You might, perhaps, tell the youth that really he ought to qualify himself more than he has done for forming what must be a private individual judgment, for which he, and he alone, will have to answer before God, against the Church of England. Do try to make him a little more humble; let the moral question come to the front. A few Socratic questions, quietly and judiciously put, might give him some idea of his own incompetency for such matters. I must not forget to say that Clement of Rome's name never once appears in the Epistle called his. He wrote it in the name of the Roman Church[1] to remonstrate with Corinthians as to a schism in which their ministers had been deposed. Papal claims are wholly 'out of it.'

To the Rev. ——, on the same subject.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
October 27, 1889.

The passage which Romanists formerly quoted in its garbled condition is not in the Anti-Pelagian Treatises, but in the end of Sermon 131.[2] The reference is to the report of Anti-Pelagian decisions by African Synods, sent to Innocent I. The

[1] *Cf.* Ἡ ἐκκλησία τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ παροικοῦσα Ῥώμην τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ τῇ παροικούσῃ Κόρινθον, 1 *Clem. ad Cor.*, § 1, *ap.* Lightfoot, *Apostolic Fathers*, Part I., vol. ii., p. 5. Dionysius of Corinth and Irenæus both refer to it as the letter of the Roman Church. *Cf.* Gwatkin, *Selections*, etc., pp. 62, 102; and *cf.* Bright, *Roman See, etc.*, p. 23.

[2] See above, p. 240, note 2.

synodical letters are Aug. Epp. 175, 176. Ep. 175 plainly, though respectfully, intimates to the Pope that the Council expects his concurrence. So does the other letter, and in it one finds the significant remark, 'We think that they (the heretical teachers who had not hitherto yielded, but were maintaining their error) will more easily yield *auctoritati sanctitatis tuæ de sanctarum scripturarum auctoritate depromptæ*'[1]—*i.e.*, Innocent will adduce Scriptural evidence against their false notions.

Then, after Innocent had utilized the occasion to magnify his own see,[2] and had condemned Pelagianism, the next Pope (I use the term for mere convenience), Zosimus, was beguiled by the Pelagians, wrote strongly in their favour to the African Church in their behalf,[3] and was respectfully resisted, that Church demanding that he should not depart from the lines of his predecessor.[4]

Of course, your poor lad doesn't know that whereas Pius IV.'s Creed imposes the duty of not interpreting Scripture 'except according to the

[1] Ep. clxxvi., § 5 (*Opera*, tom. ii., col. 622A).

[2] Aug., Ep. clxxxi., § 1 (*Opera*, tom. ii., col. 635F).

[3] Zosimus spoke of their 'absoluta fides,' and said 'a catholica veritate nunquam fuisse divulsos.' His letter is in Aug., *Opera*, tom. x., app., coll. 99 *sqq*. 'It has no direct bearing on Papal Infallibility.' *Cf.* Bright, *Anti-Pelagian Treatises of St. Augustine*, p. xl.

[4] 'Constituimus,' said the Africans, 'in Pelagium atque Cælestium per . . . episcopum Innocentium de beatissimi apostoli Petri sede prolatam manere sententiam.' *Cf.* Aug., *Opera*, tom. x., app., col. 102D; and Bright, *Roman See*, etc., p. 133, note 2.

unanimous consent of the Fathers'[1] there is not even a shadow of pretence for claiming such a consent on behalf of the Papal interpretation of 'Thou art Peter.'

It is certainly a great pity that you formerly thought all those questions unpractical. That horrid question, 'What will pay in the schools?' has done too much mischief ere now.

You had better get Littledale's *Petrine Claims*,[2] which is a reprint of articles in the *Church Quarterly Review*. He is a keen counsel, whose tone won't suit people with Roman fever on them or threatening them; and here and there he presses a point too far; still, it is a very useful book. But, as I said, the first thing is, lead this lad to a humbler and healthier estimate of his own capacities for really handling such questions. What would he say if, *e.g.*, a parson dealt thus with a technical question in some secular business?

P.S.—The ominous point in this youth's case is that instead of presuming that the Church in which he had been bred up and in which he was actually a Sunday-school teacher, was right until she could be proved wrong—instead of saying, when scraps and 'tags' from ancient writers about which he could not possibly know anything were offered to him by a professed enemy to that Church, 'I can't enter into these minute questions, but I think my own clergy are just as likely to be trustworthy on such a subject as Roman

[1] *Canones et Decreta Concilii Tridentini*, p. 227.

[2] S.P.C.K., 1889. The articles were contributed between 1878 and 1884.

priests, and until I have a real knowledge of the matter for myself, I may reasonably rely on them—instead of this, he practically throws the burden of proof on his own clergy when it ought to lie on their opponents. What makes him do this? It is plain as noonday. The proposal made to him, 'Look at these passages for yourself, and you will soon see how they upset the Anglican pretensions,' flatters his self-importance, or self-confidence, as it could not possibly be flattered or pleased or ministered to, by the course which was in the circumstances natural and legitimate for one like him.

To the Rev. ——, on the same subject.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
October 29, 1889.

What you quote from Bruno is very like what I read in Rivington. I think they all sent out the same article, with some little varieties as to colour and trimming.

Rivington writes as if facts had really no rights; as if evidence might be treated in the most arbitrary fashion in order to make out a case for the Pope.

But look at that passage which you quote from Bruno: could anyone who had really read the New Testament call the Roman Church the 'trunk' of all Churches? But what would be 'inconceivable,' unless we admit what? 'Inconceivable' that 'all churches ought to be united to the Church of Rome as branches to the trunk, and to conform their faith' to the teaching of the

Church of Rome, unless we admit that the Pope's teaching was infallible.[1]

Undoubtedly, a very obvious proposition; but how if we deny the proposition, which is thus assumed, that all Churches ought so to submit? It is in these quiet assumptions that much of the Roman tactics consists.

Then again, in what sense does 'every part of Christendom bear witness from the earliest ages that the Church is built on Peter'?[2] What does the phrase mean? Most certainly it did not mean, say to St. Cyprian, what it means to Dr. Bruno. The latter is simply trafficking in ambiguities. I suppose he reckons on his readers not cross-questioning his language. But I can't acquit him of distinct *suggestio falsi* when he talks of the Corinthians applying to Clement I. to know who would be their 'legitimate Pastor.'[2] If he ever read anything that the Epistle of the Roman Church, doubtless written by Clement, says on the subject, he must know better than that. And if not, he is morally wrong in talking about the matter as if he knew.

I wonder what T. B. (poor lad, how old is he?) has been primed with as to the Council of Jerusalem. Rivington, in his *Authority*, had the 'cheek' to tell his readers that St. Peter's speech was the determination, the final decisive sentence, and that it was, as such, subscribed by St. James and the rest! I do believe these converts, in the flush of their neophyte enthusiasm, will say anything. . . .

[1] Bruno, [*Roman*] *Catholic Belief*, pp. 43 *sq.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 117.

P.S.—The absurd argument from the employment of Peter's boat is a very old story. I forget which of the Anglican divines it was who—perhaps not very reverently—paraphrased the text in the Roman sense substantially thus: 'Peter, I do mean by sitting in thy boat that thou and thy successors in the See of Rome shall be Popes and Oracles of My church for ever.' (Moreover, James and John should thus be made 'partners' in the papacy.) Of course, we must frankly admit that St. Peter did occupy, in our Lord's own day and in the early period of the Church's life, a conspicuous position as spokesman and as leader. He may even be called ὁ ἡγούμενος—after Luke xxii. 26—but this is just the point, Is ἡγεμονία the equivalent of ἀρχή? The allies of Athens, at the opening of the Peloponnesian War, were disposed to think that she had turned her legitimate ἡγεμονία, by gradual aggressions, into an illegitimate ἀρχή. It is a very natural process, and we contend that Rome has performed it. But it is the trick or policy of Roman arguers to heap up passages which recognise a ἡγεμονία in St. Peter, or in the ancient Roman Bishops, and to glide from this into the inference that they prove an ἀρχή; that primacy or pre-eminence involves supremacy or monarchy.[1] We have to watch this sinuous motion, and stop it.

[1] Thucydides, i. 97. *Cf.* Bright, *Roman, See, etc.*, p 21.

To the Rev. ——, on the same subject.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
October 31, 1889.

I understand *auctoritati . . . depromptæ*[1] to mean 'the authoritativeness of your own statement on the question in controversy based, as it will be, on the fontal, original authority of Holy Scripture' (Ep. 176).

Compare the previous Epistle of the other Council,[2] Ep. 175. They quote texts and add *et innumerabilia talia, quæ de Scripturis omnibus si colligere velimus, tempus non sufficit. Et veremur ne apud te ista ipsa commemorando, quæ majore gratia de sede apostolica prædicas, inconvenienter facere videamur.*[3] In Ep. 176 itself,[4] there is also a clause *ut alia omittamus quæ contra sanctas scripturas plurima disserunt.*[5] They evidently expect Innocent to give his judgment backed up by a full argument from the New Testament. Bruno must be one of those unscrupulous people who think that all is fair against 'Protestants' and for the Holy See. What a fatal mistake the mediæval moralists made in not including *mendacium* among the *peccata capitalia*. . . .

As to that ridiculous assumption . . ., where is

[1] See above, p. 244.
[2] Sc. of Carthage, 416. *Cf.* Hefele, ii. p. 455.
[3] Aug., Ep. 175, § 3 (*Opera*, tom. ii., col. 619A).
[4] Sc. of the Co. of Milevum, 416. *Cf.* Hefele, ii., p. 455.
[5] Aug., Ep. 176, § 3 (*Opera*, tom. ii., col. 621D).

there in Acts xv. a word about Peter giving to James any position whatever? I do not, for my part, see an actual presidential sentence in St. James' ἐγὼ κρίνω. It is very emphatic; but κρίνω might mean only a personal judgment, not necessarily the pronouncement made from the presidential seat and expressing the decision of the assembly. R. V. has 'my judgement is . . .' (xv. 19).

That St. Peter concealed his own Pontifical authority while he lived! Can such a shift be treated gravely? What of St. Paul's magnifying his office?[1] What of St. John's threat against Diotrephes?[2] What of the instruction to Titus to speak and act with all authority?[3] Our Lord Himself gives no example of such false and disloyal humility. He ever affirmed His own supreme authority. He did so for the sake of souls and for the sake of the truth. . . .

To a candidate for Holy Orders, on the Roman claims.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 21, 1894.

Let me suggest to you a practice which I have often found useful: when one writes a letter on a grave subject, to write it twice over, especially, perhaps, when one wants to ascertain another person's opinion. It saves time; but, what is still better, it clears the thoughts, and corrects the tendency to inexact or confused statement.

[1] Rom. xi. 13. [2] 3 John 9. [3] Tit. ii. 15

Your letter—may I say it?—would have been the better for such revision. You write as if all the conclusions of all the adherents of the new criticism were identical. A glance at Professor Kirkpatrick's *Divine Library of the Old Testament* might show the contrary: one has to distinguish between writers and between hypotheses. Indeed, you even speak of 'the conclusion' in the singular. Then as to *Psalm* 110, you hardly seem to know what Mr. Gore says about our Lord's reference to it. I do not myself agree with him, but he says clearly that if he believed our Lord to have been distinctly teaching or affirming on the subject, he would hold that teaching or affirmation to be absolutely binding on his acceptance; his explanation, which, as I said, seems to me strained, is that Christ was there arguing *ad hominem*.[1] For my part, I should hold that there is criticism—and criticism; to criticism which admits the supernatural in miracle and prophecy, and bows before the infallibility of Christ, I should allow a large scope in its treatment of literary questions.[2] Then you rush away (pardon me) to the Encyclical of Leo XIII. on Scripture, as if it pointed to the conclusion that Rome is the normal centre of unity. That conclusion must be supported by proper historical and theological arguments, and you surely know how vulnerable the Roman side is on that score.

Next, you hint that we are reaping the fruits of

[1]. *Cf. Lux Mundi*, p. 359 (ed. 1889), and Gore, *Bampton Lectures*, pp. 196 *sqq.* (ed. 1891).

[2] See above, p. 1.

'the disastrous separation' (meaning the Reformation in England), in 'Socinianism and infidelity.' Did you ever look into the condition of Europe, religiously speaking, in the century *before* the Reformation? If not, please do so. But further, do you not know what 'fruits,' in the way of blank infidelity, may be said to have resulted in France and Spain, not to say Italy, from the identification of the Papal system and all that it involves, with faith in Christ and in God. Is not England as a whole far more Christian, more Theistic? Surely you would do well to think a little of these facts, as well as of the ancient facts of the primitive and early period, before considering that Rome may turn out to be the centre of unity for Christians and the one sole, genuine, legitimate representative of the mind of our Lord. At the end of your letter you tell me of a prophecy of Professor Mivart. It is very good of him to predict our future; but is he qualified for the task? Did he ever breathe our atmosphere? Does he know our mind, our traditions, our ἦθος (to use an old Tractarian phrase)? One who has recently had to recant at Rome's bidding his own attempts to reconcile Roman Catholicism with new ideas had better be more modest when he 'casts the horoscope' of Anglicanism. But the pith of your letter consists in the question, Can there be a logical middle point between the (extremest) theories of criticism — theories which deny the supernatural — and submission to Rome as she now is? Are you sure of your own logic? Do you not feel (Oxford men ought to feel) that to shut up the choice to

one or the other extreme is, at the very outset, a questionable proceeding—a thing to be suspected rather than welcomed? Rome cannot be accepted except by the assertion of a number of propositions, theological and historical; is there no grave responsibility in making the assertion before verifying what you would have to assert? And is it possible that you have not heard of cases in which the submission to Rome, on such grounds, has been only a preliminary to the loss of all faith? It cannot shut out the knowledge of critical difficulties, it cannot provide you with an answer which will not itself suggest more difficulties and invite more criticism. . . .

My advice, then, is that you should suspect all extreme positions, and be careful to observe distinctions between statements, and between what is, and what is not, relevant to the particular issue raised; that you should disentangle threads which ought to be kept straight, and be quite sure what the theory is which, for the moment, strikes you as necessitating a certain conclusion, and ask whether the conclusion really follows—what is the reasonable alternative for rejecting it—and so on. In short, accustom yourself to cross-questioning, so to speak, when a Roman arguer or a Roman book presents to you that very old, very familiar, and all too self-confident form of dilemma—*either the Pope or unbelief*. Remember, that with far too many—I could tell you of recent cases—it has been, *first the Pope and then unbelief*. This is the nemesis of impatient, or, at any rate, of impulsive and inconsiderate arguing, of an excessive

reliance on what looks like logical sequence; in fact, as it could easily be shown, all the great historical heresies have ensnared minds and souls by the profession of being logical.

To the same, on the same subject.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 24, 1894.

Thanks for your letter. I sympathize very deeply with you. I have known in long past days something of the same trouble, although the developments of 'free thought' on one hand, and of Papalism on the other, since I was preparing for ordination, may seem to have accentuated difficulties and thereby intensified trials.

What I would venture to suggest is as follows:

1. You say that these discussions are hurtful, in your experience, to spiritual life; that they interrupt prayer and overcloud Communions. Yes, I know; they do so. Well, might it not help you to set them resolutely aside for awhile during the rest of Lent, during the sacred Easter time? 'Come apart and rest awhile'—is not that in many circumstances just the direction that we need most, if we take it as coming to us personally from Him who first gave it? I am sure you could put yourself expressly into His hands. Tell Him your trouble, ask Him to give you light and guidance in His own way and time, and then for a time determine to drop controversy of all sorts.

2. I hope it may not seem inconsistent with this advice if I say a word as to the fascination or attraction which a definite, exact theory, a clear-cut definition—*e.g.*, the Roman definition of the Church—has had at times for you. Believe me, I understand something of this; but if one thinks a bit (still more, if one reads parts of Butler's *Analogy* as to the discipline involved in a certain want of such complete evidence for religion as one might antecedently have expected), one begins to suspect these promises of clear and logical definition, of complete logical satisfaction for the mind. Does one get it on all moral questions? Does one get it on some important religious questions not directly involved in the Roman controversy? Have you not often observed how much in various departments of serious thought is necessarily left in 'the rough,' in outline? How many aspects of truth seem parallels never destined to meet in our comprehension? Is it not almost a commonplace to say that statements can be definite at the expense of comprehensiveness; that they may gain this apparent advantage by ignoring a whole side of facts; that systems may be too systematic, and simplifications may be too simple, to be true? Nothing is easier than to complain of a statement or 'definition' which laboriously and scrupulously endeavours to do justice to all aspects of a case. It 'halts,' it 'stumbles,' it 'stammers'; it 'tries to reconcile contradictions'; it 'would fain be black and white at once.' Who has not heard of such criticisms? Yes; but perhaps it is the

critic who is wrong, who yields to onesidedness and impatience.

Believe it, in God's world, all round and throughout, we have to reckon with anomalies, with apparent contrarieties, with knots and warps, and disorders and irregularities, that offend our craving for something round and smooth and normal. And, to vary St. Paul's phrase, not only outside the area of the Church or of Christian thought, but 'even we also'[1] within it, must accept this condition of things, and do the best we can with it, resolving not to ignore any truth for the sake of gaining what seems a lucid formula; and, especially in regard to the 'theory of the Church,' we shall be wise in recognising, as Dean Church says in his book on *The Oxford Movement*, the 'presence of anomalies everywhere,' and in connecting their presence with those deplorable divisions of Christendom which are the permitted effects of human self-will. The apparent neatness, precision, ready-to-handness of the Roman, or, rather, the Papalist definition of the Church (for all Romanism is now Papalism of a highly-developed kind), is too dearly purchased by its grave deviations from the criteria recognised in antiquity; but *that* opens too large a field. What I want to suggest to you at present is but the general reflection, which I am well assured that all experience will verify, that what is clear and positive is not always true and well founded; that errors and heresies have repeatedly claimed to be more logical and intelligible than Catholic

[1] Rom. viii. 23.

belief; that claims have to be scrutinized and definitions to be analysed; and that the *de facto* existence of heterodoxy in one Church does not warrant us in the least degree in accepting as *de fide* the unverified assertions of another.

To the Rev. ——, on reunion with Rome.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 27, 1895.

I regard all theories of possible corporate reunion with Rome as the merest illusion. If the history of the last fifty years has taught us nothing else, it has surely taught us *that*. It is not merely a question of Papal supremacy; it is the whole mass of Roman obedience and usage, of Roman principle and standpoint, the whole atmosphere, theological and ethical, in which Roman Catholic life energizes, that constitutes for us the impossibility of reunion. We dare not accept responsibility for Romanism as it is, and as, except for some inconceivable revolution in Latin Church opinion, it is likely to continue. Even if the bare letter of the Tridentine Decrees were all that we had to do with, it would form a barrier insurmountable. But behind and around that stretches all that is covered by the *magisterium* of the Latin Church, and that those who submit to her must assimilate. I grieve over ——'s idealism. We have no right to indulge in dreams which are dissipated by facts. . . .

To the Rev. B. J. Kidd, on the Bull Apostolicæ curæ.

Christ Church, Oxford,
September 22, 1896.

Does not the new Papal Bull recall to you a conversation which we had on a point as to which you differed from ——, and I entirely agreed with you?

The grounds on which Anglican Orders are treated as null is that of a change made under Edward VI. in the actual 'form,' coupled with, and interpreted by, the omission throughout the Ordinal (or, as he says, the exclusion from it) of a particular view of the priesthood and the Eucharistic sacrifice.[1] This view is that of an actual sacrifice of the body and blood of our Lord by the priest in the Mass. As to this, one might observe that the Pope has too many windows in his own house. He has to read the view in question into a Canon of the Mass which does *not* affirm it, or, rather, he has to suppose that what he refers to (in the *Supra quæ*) as a parallel to the firstlings of Abel's flock is nothing less than *totus Christus*, already by hypothesis present between his hands.[2] But that is not the main point. The mistake which, as you pointed out in the *Church Quarterly Review*, the Roman theology made when it placed the sacrifice

[1] *Letter Apostolic of His Holiness Leo XIII. on Anglican Orders*, §§ 7, 8.

[2] *Cf. Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1896 (Vol. XLII., No. lxxxiii., pp. 36 *sq.*).

of the Mass in a line with that of the Cross, instead of in a line with the heavenly self-presentation,[1] is now repeated with paramount authority. The moral for us is surely twofold: (1) Not to wonder, or still less to be perturbed, because our Orders are set aside as failing to satisfy criteria which we do not accept; and (2) to give up, if we have begun, or, if not, carefully to avoid, language which attempts to obliterate all distinction between what we hold on the Eucharistic offering, and consequently on the Christian priest's office with regard to it, and what Rome holds—*e.g.*, in the Tridentine *Professio Fidei.* The terms 'true, proper, and propitiatory sacrifice,'[2] naturally understood, are (we must now explicitly say) *not* appropriate to the Eucharist, for the simple and decisive reason that they are not appropriate to the heavenly self-presentation, of which the Eucharist is the counterpart. We are, therefore, at variance with Rome not only as to the abuse of private Masses, or as to this or that extravagant form of language about the sacrifice, but on the deeper question of the point of view from which the Eucharistic sacrifice is to be regarded. Is not this so?

There is one passage in the Bull which is almost *Irish.* The Pope says that the addition of 'for the office and work,' etc., in 1661-62 betokened a consciousness of the inadequacy of the existing 'form.'[3] As if those who introduced

[1] *Church Quarterly Review*, April, 1896 (Vol. XLII., No. lxxxiii., p. 48).

[2] *Canones et decreta Conc. Trid.*, p. 227.

[3] *Letter Apostolic, etc.*, § 7.

it could by any possibility have hoped thus to cure a fatal defect in the succession as it had come down to them! But we know that the real reason was to meet an objection that the 'form' did not clearly distinguish between the offices of priest and of bishop.[1]

To the Rev. ——, on the Roman claims.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
Feast of the Circumcision, 1897.

I am anxious just now about a young Trinity undergraduate who has fixed his lodgings in —— parish, and whom I met at that Church on Sunday. He has got into acquaintance with G—— and has met R—— there; but has also found out, by looking up references, that that glib advocate of Ultramontanism is not to be trusted as to facts. However, he knows another Roman priest who is staying in Oxford, and I fear he has got the peculiar turn of mind which predisposes a person to take 'the Roman fever.' Why is there not among the young High Churchmen more of the healthy Teutonism which corrects those tendencies, and repels the influences of which they are susceptible? As for G——, no rational being could be impressed by him as an arguer; he is a gentleman all over, and a person of kindly nature independently of his proselytizing hospitalities, but his mind, as all know who knew him as a 'ritualistic' undergraduate (although the adjective was hardly

[1] *Cf.* Cardwell, *Conferences*, p. 386 note *q*. (3rd ed., 1849).

invented in those days), is of the thinnest and flimsiest calibre. The argument which you quote is exactly fit for its measure; it reminds me of James II.'s conclusion that the English Church had 'no right to do what she did at the Reformation,' which, of course, assumes the Roman claims to start with.

Our Church, we know, does not claim infallibility; she knows, as we do, in what difficulties Rome has involved herself by such a claim. If she thinks she was wrong in accepting what we call mediæval peculiarities of doctrine or practice, she does so not arbitrarily or from a mere *stet pro ratione voluntas*, but for definite reasons, theological and historical; and for the self-same reasons she believes herself right in adhering to that position. Let Romanists disprove those reasons, and then they will make out their case. To submit to Rome before they are so proved and on the ground of an hypothetical possibility is simply childish; or, rather, it is an enormous exercise of private judgment without tenable cause shown.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on secessions to Rome, and on Sæpius officio *of the two Archbishops.*

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
March 21, 1897.

M——'s secession is of much less importance than would have attached to that of an Englishman with a balanced mind and with adequate

knowledge of the real merits of the question. He was never imagined to be an authority on theology or history, and he is an emotional, or, at least, a highly sensitive and excitable Celt. For eleven years, I hear, he has been unsettled—has had fits of 'Roman fever'!—and now this last has been decisive. But women who dote on his preaching (which I once heard and never wished to hear again) will be apt to think that so pious and spiritual a mind as his must needs have been guided aright in its 'submission' to Rome. I dare say he is one of the many who are attracted by the very breadth and—in Dean Church's phrase—'audacity' of Roman assumptions. Anglicanism frets them by its 'moderation,' and they catch at the very absoluteness of the claims which, to us, are signs against Rome. In one sense, this was the case with Newman in 1845: he craved for a bigger Church, a Church with more sonorous and imperative voice than that of England. The reply of our Archbishops[1] is the greatest lift that the cause of Church principles has had, in our memory. The calm dignity of its tone agrees well with the matter-of-course acceptance of a sacramental and sacerdotal function for Anglican theology and the Anglican ministry. One could hardly have believed it possible, some years ago, that such a pronouncement should have been solemnly issued from the two thrones of Canterbury and York. I am sure we owe very much to Archbishop Maclagan. He was so good

[1] *Answer of the Archbishops of England to the Apostolic Letter of Pope Leo XIII.* (1897).

as to write to me both before and after the wording was settled.

P.S. [*from a letter of March* 22].—As for the Eastern troubles I am, I confess, disgusted with the reiteration of that formula as to the integrity of the Turkish Empire, which is too gross a fiction to be called a 'make-believe.' We are degraded by the use of it, but Lord Salisbury has, no doubt, to keep within the lines of the so-called 'concert' in order not to 'give occasion' to those three Emperors who have no sympathy either with liberty, as such, or with the Eastern Christians as under the Turkish tyrant. If *we* broke with them they would actively support him.

VI

Church Questions of the Day

To the Rev. P. G. Medd, on the Denison Judgment.

MANCHESTER,
August 26, 1856.

As to the Denison Judgment . . . I do not see how I could comfortably retain my Fellowship [at University College] if that decision became the law of the Church. For, whatever one might think of evil communicants—and, as to them, it is perfectly evident that two distinct lines of language as to two distinct sides of the subject were held together, not by St. Augustine only, but by St. Chrysostom, as the recent work of Dr. Pusey shows[1]—yet the decision proceeds to touch the fact of the Real Presence itself by absolutely denying what Bishop Andrewes[2] absolutely affirmed, that Christ's Sacramental Presence is an object of adoration. And this is to declare war against the

[1] *Doctrine of the Real Presence*, pp. 497 *sqq.* (ed. 1855).
[2] Quoted in Pusey, *The Real Presence the doctrine of the English Church*, pp. 315 *sq.* (ed. 1857).

theology and ritual of the Fathers, as well as to proclaim disbelief in the reality of the Presence. But, besides this, it seems to me that the decision touches many who do not hold particularly high views on the Holy Eucharist. For its principle is that the Articles without the Liturgy are the sole dogmatic test of the Church of England. In this point of view it is an attack on all who have been accustomed to consider the Liturgy as a co-ordinate authority with the Articles. . . .

To the Rev. ——, on the possible successor to Dr. Shirley, Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History, who died November 20, 1866.

University College,
November 27, 1866.

Shirley was buried to-day in the Latin Chapel with full cathedral solemnity, the Canons bearing the pall, all the members of the Foundation joining in the procession, and the Dean reading the service, which he is said to have done with much feeling.

I do not know who has any real chance of the appointment; between ourselves, I wrote to Lord Beauchamp and also spoke to the Bishop about Liddon. But I think the Government would hardly appoint so thorough a Churchman. The Bishop, with a humorous smile, said to me: 'Ah, Liddon has been beforehand with you; he has been speaking to me in favour of somebody else—Mr. Bright, of University.' Some of the younger

fellows here are kind enough to talk of me, but it is all chimerical. I shouldn't like to be Canon of Christ Church, except, perhaps, for such reasons as being able to set apart a big room in the house for your visits; and it is quite pleasure enough to know that some of one's friends wish to see one there.

My fear is that either the Government may appoint some Conservative who has no special aptitudes, or may be coerced into appointing some Liberal. Imagine old —— being talked of! And the Liberals are again stirring for Bradley.

Meantime, how many plans for good, how many expectations of prolonged, quiet usefulness, lie mysteriously buried in that new coffin which the Cathedral holds to-night for the first time!

To the Rev. ——, on Bishop Wilberforce's Visitation: Dr. Shirley's probable successor: Colenso.

University College,
December 7, 1866.

The Visitation here was spoilt by the dear Bishop's unpunctuality; he came so late that Mattins had to be omitted: he began the Communion Service, delivered his Charge after the Gospel, and it lasted until about ten minutes to four, so that it was obviously too late to have a celebration. All this was sadly mismanaged. The Bishop should have come earlier, had the Celebration first, and then given the Charge. And the clergy, who were wearied with the waiting

and the long sitting, were disappointed by the Bishop's only just appearing at the dinner and then hurrying away. The Charge itself, with some strong things against Ritualism,[1] of which the *Times* makes much, had some valuable passages in another direction, to the existence of which that honest paper bravely alludes. Mr. Carter was exceedingly well satisfied. I am struck with the increased moderation of tone which appears in the *Times's* article on the Bishop's Charge. Now I do wish that the older and more thoughtful Ritualists would meet and confer on the course that should be adopted on the subject. Manifestly, there is at present a breathing time, as manifestly there will be a Parliamentary debate and perhaps a movement for legislation; and to me it is not less manifest that much of Ritualistic detail that is carried out in St. Alban's and elsewhere is really quite excessive. It is hard that those who adhere to the principle of Ritualism (because they adhere to Sacramentalism), and would stand for certain leading features of it, should be crushed or overridden by a hostile movement which is mainly provoked by some who 'go in' for all mediæval details. These men want every detail they can borrow from mediæval or Roman sources; we, it seems, are likely to pay for their pertinacity by losing even what we ourselves are content with. This is very unreasonable.

As to the Ecclesiastical History Chair, you needn't think I have any chance, as people call it,

[1] *Cf. Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, iii., pp. 199 *sqq.*

of having the offer made to me, although my friends here kindly wish it. I do not think, nor does Liddon, that Lord Derby will appoint anyone known as a thorough High Churchman. What I expect is that Mansel will be appointed; or perhaps Haddan, which would be better, if he had health; Claughton would be an unfit man for this special post—but there is a great likelihood that special fitness will be practically disregarded. Governments don't care about such specialities. The fact is no doubt vexatious to those who, like me, feel an interest in this special subject. I have some fear that Government may yield to Liberal pressure, and appoint some man who is just not a heretic, or, at least, who is not known to be rationalistically inclined, but who would really serve the Liberals' turn effectually. Lord Derby is not perhaps the likeliest man in the world to be the subject of Liberal dictation; but his position as Premier is notoriously weak, and Liberalism is insolent and popular. Dr. Moberly is talked of, but I think he is too old for a new sphere of teaching work. . . . Liddon says that the Liberals here are most intolerant in their language, and bitter against the very idea of a High Church appointment; 'as for the subject, anybody can get it up, of course.'

I saw a letter dated from Natal the other day, which gave the saddest picture of affairs. There seems hardly such a body as a faithful laity there. The riff-raff support Colenso as explaining away the miraculous, and as denying hell; Dissenters, as opposing Church claims; Socinians, for his

dislike of prayer to Christ; Deists, for a like reason; and, shameful to say, actually some Evangelicals (not all, I know), because he denounces the doctrine of baptismal grace. . . . It seems as if popular Protestantism were hurrying to its appointed development. Obviously, it cannot secure even loyalty to our Lord.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on the Purchas Judgment.*

Maundy Thursday [1871].

1. It matters very little, in reference to the interpretation of our present Consecration Rubric, whether Cosin, as Archdeacon or Canon—*i.e.*, before 1661—was wont to consecrate in front of the altar, for at that time, to which the extract from the Acts of High Commission refers, the rubric . . . was simply, 'Then the priest, standing up, shall say as followeth.'

2. A proof that the celebrant in the ancient Basilicas stood behind the altar, with his face turned across it towards the people, may, I think, be found in St. Gregory Nazianzen's well-known description of the memorable celebration by St. Basil in the cathedral of Cæsarea in Cappadocia, at the Epiphany of 372. The Emperor Valens is described as standing among the people, and seeing Basil, as he 'stood, without moving his body, *or his countenance* . . . fixed, as one might say, on God and on the altar' (*Orat.*, xliii.,

c. 52).[1] The face of Basil must thus have been visible to the congregation. A similar usage appears to have prevailed in the original 'Basilica of our Lord and Saviour Christ' at Canterbury.[2] It is needless to observe that there was an essential difference, as to effect and impression produced, between this position of the ancient celebrant, standing in the sanctuary among his assistants, with the altar between him and the people, and that of the Puritan or Presbyterian minister, standing at the long side of a table set lengthways in the body of the church, with rows of communicants on either hand. Moreover, this 'Basilican' position is not allowed by the terms of the recent judgment.

3. Among the modern authorities for the mixed chalice one ought not to be forgotten—the practice of the apostolic Bishop Wilson. In his *Sacra Privata*, among his 'Devotions at the Altar,' are some to be used 'upon placing the bread and wine and water upon the altar.'[3]

P.S. from a letter of April 29, 1871—One is rather weary, by this time, of the 'Basilican' argument. It is, anyhow, irrelevant until our chancels are arranged in the Basilican manner. And in the old Basilicas the idea of the Eucharistic oblation was abundantly expressed by the whole

[1] Migne, *P. G.*, tom. xxxvi., col. 563A. *Cf.* Bright, *Waymarks*, p. 93.

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Chapters in Early English Church History*, p. 61 (3rd ed., 1897).

[3] *Works*, V., p. 74 (ed. Keble: *Library of Anglo-Catholic Theology*).

aspect of the service; whereas it is the very object of the Church Association to crush out as far as possible every such expression of it among ourselves. It is well to refer to the position of a Basilican celebrant; but what of the entire Basilican ritual?

To the Rev. ——, on the Church Courts.

January 12, 1877.

Of course there would be cases in which it would be right to resist a legal tribunal, and to suffer. But what I cannot accept is the claim made by some to be entirely independent of the Courts of the Establishment. The claim of such independence appears to me untenable, while we cleave to Establishment. It is said, 'A Court to try ecclesiastical offences set up by Parliament has no right to our regard.' Well, I cannot see that this proposition is implied in the settlement of 1662. It may be said, 'We must revise that settlement, because it is now used in a tyrannic spirit alien from that of the Bishops and Statesmen of 1662.' If so, let it be said plainly; as yet I do not hear it said plainly; I hear only vague and large assertions about 'the principles of the Christian Religion' forbidding us to recognise the present Courts.

I am afraid that such claims will disorganize and divide the High Church forces. *Hoc Ithacus velit!*

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on popular election of bishops.*

March 20, 1877.

. . . There is a 'people' and a 'people.' Such a 'people' as is represented by the majority of an English House of Commons is one thing; such a 'people' as took part in a primitive episcopal appointment [*e.g.*, of St. Ambrose] is another. The former is a constituency including persons of all religions, or of none; the latter was professedly the great body of the Christian Church. Among the former there are very many who are most earnestly Christian, not to say Churchmen, in the practical sense of the word; but, dismissing all theories grounded on a state of things now extinct, we see that their Christianity or their Churchmanship is independent of their political *status* and their right to political representation. Among the latter there were very many imperfect Christians, specially after the Empire adopted the faith; but, as a body, they acknowledged what was indeed the *raison d'être* of their corporate existence, their obligation to the kingdom that was not from this world. They held its creed, partook of its ordinances, were amenable to its discipline; and when they expressed their minds in regard to the filling up of one of its *cathedræ*, they did so as performing an ecclesiastical act, and therefore as discharging a religious responsibility. In spite of those cases in which partisanship and southern excitability disgraced an episcopal election by

scenes of tumult . . . it remains true and it is *the* point, that those who called out, *e.g.*, for Ambrose as bishop, acted avowedly as 'the people' in the special ecclesiastical sense of the term,[1] not as the 'people' in an ordinary and secular sense. But it is the people in this latter sense which returns a Parliamentary majority, and thereby, under the conditions of Establishment, determines, to a great extent, the appointment of bishops, and generally the character of ecclesiastical legislation.

Political circumstances, we all know, have gone far to extend, in a legal point of view, the area of Anglican Church membership. It is all the more necessary to be on our guard against a fallacy which is potent for harm in many spheres of English life; to remind ourselves that a 'layman,' in the true historical meaning of the word, is *not* an equivalent for 'any unit of the English public who happens not to be ordained.' When people talk, for instance, of the 'lay mind,' the 'lay view of things,' how often do they mentally define their own phrase? Is it not a patent sophism to recite the high religious titles, the solemn ecclesiastical duties and functions which in primitive days belonged to the 'brethren,' the 'faithful,' the 'holy people,' the 'royal priesthood,' that *plebs intus posita* to which St. Cyprian, 'hierarchical' as men call him, so energetically attributed a *fidelis atque incorrupta majestas*[2] (*Epist.* lix. 18), and then practically serve all the ratepayers heirs of this sacred dignity and rightful claimants of this

[1] *Cf.* 1 Pet. ii. 9.
[2] *Opera*, ii., p. 687 (ed. Hartel).

large share in Church administration? In every other case it is admitted, and even urged, that rights imply duties, and are annulled by failure to fulfil duties; it should be admitted therefore, in this case, that it is unreasonable to demand religious prerogatives for those who will not discharge religious obligations. Who are they that are most injured by this wholesale transfer of rights? Not the clergy, but the true laity—the communicants of the Church.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on a Patriarchate for Canterbury.*

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
June 20, 1878.

Many will thank you for your article in this week's *Guardian*,[1] directed against a proposal which one is sorry to see associated with the name of the Archdeacon of George, in South Africa. We may well hope that the proposal is, 'for the present at least, out of the range of practical Church questions.' The subjection of the See of Canterbury, under an ecclesiastical Establishment, to a Royal supremacy which cannot have any relation to Churches 'in no better but no worse position' than other non-established or voluntary communities, such as the Scottish or Irish Churches, must be *in limine* fatal to the scheme.

But even if the home Church were not 'established,' I know not what precedent the

[1] June 19, 1878.

Archdeacon, or those who agree with him, could produce from antiquity for the formal creation of a new patriarchate by one group of Churches without the concurrence or sanction of any existing patriarchates. The ancient patriarchates grew up in a Christendom unlike our own. When the See of Moscow was made patriarchal in 1587, the Eastern patriarchates gave solemn consent, and Jeremiah II. of Constantinople came into Russia to bless and establish the new Patriarch.

Some of the Archdeacon's statements are apparently coloured by his imagination. The Synod of Cloveshoe in 803 did *not* proclaim the Archbishop of Canterbury 'Primate or Patriarch in settlement of a temporary schism.' It merely reaffirmed the rights which he had possessed previously to the temporary creation of an archbishopric of Lichfield. It restored the *status quo* by abolishing the latter archbishopric. It decreed that the *primatus monarchiæ archiprincipatus*—meaning, not a patriarchate, but simply the old archiepiscopal authority traced back to St. Augustine—should 'continue' with Canterbury. See Haddan and Stubbs, *Councils*, III., p. 543; compare pp. 524, 537.

The Archdeacon has forgotten the principle laid down by the African Church (which had not a patriarchal see) as to appeals to Rome. It discountenanced recurrence to *transmarina judicia* (*Cod. Afric.* 28, 125).[1] In its famous letter to Pope Celestine (426 A.D.) it emphasized

[1] *Cf.* Hefele, ii., pp. 468 *sqq.*

this point: 'The Nicene decrees . . . most prudently provided that all causes should be concluded in their own places, where they had originated. . . . How will the transmarine judgment itself be valid, seeing that the necessary witnesses will not be able to appear?' etc. Compare Mansi, *Concilia*, iv., col. 516 A, B; and Fleury bk. xxiv., c. 35.[1]

The Archdeacon says truly that the claims of the Papacy are different in kind from the claims of any Patriarch, and it is most important, in view of the former claims, to recollect that it is precisely because the Roman Bishop insists on being owned as Supreme Pontiff that we cannot regard him in his canonical character of first Patriarch. The old right is barred by the later wrong. But then, in point of fact, not only did the Papacy grow up, in large measure, by a systematic extension and exaggeration of the patriarchal powers of Rome, but we know of other cases in which patriarchal powers were strained and magnified to the detriment of bishoprics and churches. The Suffragans of Alexandria became almost helpless in the hands of their 'Pope';[2] and it was a Bishop of Constantinople who first assumed the style of 'Œcumenical Patriarch.'[3]

[1] Newman's Translation, ii., pp. 390 *sq.* (ed. 1843).

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Notes on the Canons*, pp. 17, 208 (ed. 1882).

[3] Mennas, in a Synodical letter of May 15, 536: see Hefele, iv., pp. 198, 415. On St. Gregory the Great's attitude to the title, see Bright, *Chapters in Early Church History*, p. 71 *nn.* (3rd ed., 1897).

To the Rev. ——, on projects of Church reform.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 10, 1886.

You must have overlooked my letter (rather a long one) on Church franchises, in the *Guardian* of February 4. S—— and all those people who allow themselves to join with revolutionists in the Church area, and advocate organic changes in the working constitution of the Church of England, are inexperienced and over-confident. I should not like to take a severe estimate of their motives, but it is vexatious to see them take up such fancy franchises with a light heart, in the childish confidence that if 'the people are trusted with ecclesiastical power, they will respond to the trust,' etc. Of course, behind this group of well-meaning idealizers is the small but resolute party which intends, if possible, to stamp out dogma and 'ecclesiasticism' by reconstituting the Church on a secular and democratic basis, so as to convert it into a 'kingdom of this world.'

To the Rev. ——, on the Scandinavian communion.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
February 1, 1888.

I confess I do not look with any great hopefulness towards the Scandinavian communion. It is essentially Lutheran, and I should gravely

doubt whether a body pervaded and animated by Lutheran tradition could, as such, conform itself to the 'Churchly' type. The sacramental theory of the Lutherans is, I suppose, impaired and distorted by treating the Gospel ordinances as means of stimulating faith, rather than as means of grace in the Catholic sense of the phrase—*i.e.*, as instruments effecting and sustaining a union with the life-giving Humanity of the Incarnate Son. I believe that Luther cast off, advisedly and thoroughly, the whole sacerdotal conception of the ministry,[1] and a question which you raised in one of your letters is really fundamental: Do the 'bishops' of this 'Church' intend by their imposition of hands to transmit the historic ministry of the Catholic Church—*i.e.*, to confer Holy Orders?[2] Unless they do intend, and therefore (supposing the episcopal descent to be proved) effect this, one cannot say that they have the 'succession' in the proper sense. I suspect that a Norsk or Swedish divine or prelate would not approve of our Ordinal. I wish, of course, that one had trustworthy evidence of a higher view on their part, as regards these and similar matters; but mere verbal similarities

[1] *Cf.* His *Address to the Christian Nobility*, Wace and Buchheim, *Luther's Primary Works*, pp. 164 *sq.* (2nd ed., 1896); with further references and comments in Beard, *Reformation*, pp. 133 *sqq.* (2nd ed., 1885), or Kidd, *The Continental Reformation*, pp. 117 *sqq.*

[2] *Cf.* Bright, *Some Aspects, etc.*, p. 50 *n.*; and on the general question of Swedish 'Orders' see Palmer, *Treatise on the Church*, i., p. 297 (3rd ed., 1842), and *Report of the Lambeth Conference*, 1897, pp. 119 *sqq.*

of language do not go very far when there is a divergence as to fundamental ideas of Church life. And if there is such a divergence between us and them, any renewal of ecclesiastical relations between our Church and theirs would do no good, would represent no real unity. Vestments and crosses and lights are of small account, unless they represent ideas. I will look at the MS., if you send it to me, as I may find time.

I need hardly say that what one wants to know is not how near the Norsk formulas can be brought to Catholic standard by a specially favourable interpretation, but what is their actual, historic, and received sense.

Notes on the MS. referred to above.

. . . As to justification. I find no satisfaction in the statements on this head. What is *faith?* There is no clear definition given. It is called a 'living faith'; but the question is whether it is a mere apprehension of Christ's merits by an act of self-assurance[1] ('I believe that my sins are forgiven,' or 'that I am saved'), or whether it involves a moral element, an act of self-committal whereby the whole inner man gives itself up to Christ?

Observe, too, the language as to good works. They are 'necessary,' only not in the sense of

[1] *Cf.* 'Docent quod homines . . . gratis justificentur propter Christum per fidem quam *credunt se* in gratiam recipi,' *Conf. Aug.*, I. iv. *ap.* Francke, *Libri Symbolici Ecclesiæ Lutheranæ*, i., p. 14; see Kidd, *Cont. Ref.*, p. 115, note 2.

compulsion (which would exclude filial freedom), but in the sense of obligation. Very well! Was it necessary to exclude the idea of compulsion? Did ever any divine maintain it? And then, at the same time, although they are necessary in the sense of being obligatory, and as the natural fruits of faith, yet they are to be 'excluded entirely when there is a question of eternal salvation'! Could an Antinomian desire anything more? . . . Are the 'works' excluded by St. Paul good works in the Christian sense? Many, no doubt, say they are; and we may well hold that justifying faith can exist when there has been no time for such good works. It is sometimes said that justification cannot take place without them. I should not go so far. I should say, Not without the potentiality of them, not without that moral self-committal out of which they proceed, but which is quite different from the Lutheran's *fiducia*.

But would [this document] justify one in explaining the good works which it 'excludes from the question of salvation' as being works of Roman ceremonialism? Would not this explanation be set aside as trifling? Would not, then, any fair interpreter give to the good works excluded their ordinary meaning? And is it not a grave error to quote Rom. iv. 6 and Eph. ii. 8, 9, as putting them utterly out of sight when we are considering the conditions of salvation? [The question is,] Are good works, when possible, a condition of salvation, or not? . . .

The leaven of Lutheranism reappears in the

statement that unworthy reception [of the Holy Sacrament] proceeds *only* from unbelief—a most inadequate view! Contrast our Prayer-Book: 'Therefore if any of you be a blasphemer. . . .' If worthiness 'does not at all consist in our preparation,' how about the application of 'the marriage-garment'? Here again is that untheological neglect of the distinction between *causa efficiens* and *causa instrumentalis* or *conditionalis*. . . .

On the whole these extracts do not increase my desire for intercommunion with the Norwegian or Swedish communion, even supposing that the historic ministry could be shown to have been transmitted in that body.

I should exceedingly doubt whether, with all the high language used as to the Eucharistic presence, they really do apprehend the fundamental conception of sacramental grace in its connection with the life-giving Manhood of the Incarnate.

Let us not hurry reunion anywhere. To 'reap unripe seed' is no part of wisdom. Let us not make out 'eirenicons' by any process which involves a *strain*. Let us not imagine a readiness to join hands with the Church in quarters where, so far as at present appears, the root-ideas of 'Churchly' Christianity have not been grasped. I know that, for generous and peace-loving souls, there is a temptation to premature hopefulness as to reunions, in this or that direction. But prematureness is never healthy.

To the Rev. Canon Medd in anticipation of the Lincoln Judgment.

CHRIST CHURCH,
March 24, 1890.

The acute crisis which has now been reached in the internal disorder, so to speak, through which the Church is passing, absorbs one all the more because of one's close connection with the Bishop of Lincoln. . . . People are much excited by the injudicious half-revelations made by —— and —— as to the character of the forthcoming Archiepiscopal Judgment. We may presume, after what we have heard, that it will be against certain things . . . *e.g.*, against the public mixing of the chalice. What is to be the course taken by clergy?

If the Judgment was in any obvious way determined by Puritanical writings, it would lose all the spiritual validity attaching to a real Archiepiscopal Judgment, assuming, for the moment, that such validity does attach to a sentence pronounced by the Archbishop as sole judge, with certain suffragans as assessors or advisers. This tribunal is very poor in the authority of precedents, and, as far as the analogy of English judicature has force, it is hardly constitutional, in that it concentrates the whole judicial authority and responsibility in one man. Here is an objection which applies to it on the supposition that it does not act as a subordinate tribunal to the Judicial Committee, bound by that Committee's decisions in the past, and admitting an appeal to

it in the present. On that supposition, all the ecclesiastical precedents, such as are referred to by the Archbishop in his previous Judgment as to his own jurisdiction, fall hopelessly to the ground. But, putting that supposition aside, does the other objection amount to a reason for absolutely denying the jurisdiction of the Court? The Bishop of Lincoln did not think so; and he, I believe, will submit to its rulings, reserving any rights which, as a Bishop of the Province, he may have in the way of moving for a hearing before the whole Provincial Episcopate, not that such a hearing would practically mend matters on the merits of this particular case.

Could a priest (*e.g.*) who used altar-lights determine to ignore a prohibition of such use by the Archbishop without denying the jurisdiction of the Archbishop as thus exercised? I confess I do not see how he could. He might submit with protest of appeal to the whole Provincial Episcopate and *ad interim*, but I do not see on what principle he could refuse all compliance. To stand simply on 'the impossibility of giving up now what one has so long used, and has found to be an impressive symbol of Catholic doctrine and of Catholic continuity' would be, I think, hardly a tenable position. Our 'party' has been not a little demoralized by individualism. The ecclesiastical spirit of obedience is almost extinct in many quarters. To stand out against a hierarchical tribunal (always supposing that it is *not* governed by the Privy Council) would confirm the English impression as to the lawlessness of

'Ritualists,' and deprive them of intelligible ground for their resistance to a 'secular' tribunal.

To the Rev. ——, *on the Judgment of Archbishop Benson in the case of* Read, etc., *v.* the Bishop of Lincoln.

CHRIST CHURCH,
December 14, 1890.

I agree with you that the Judgment is faulty in logic in regard to the manual acts. Grant that 'before the people' does not necessarily mean more than 'in their presence' during the service, and the inevitable consequence is that the charge ought to be dismissed; for, confessedly, the fraction is the only manual act to which these words apply, if grammatical considerations are to have weight. At the outside, they could not be extended beyond the two manual acts specified in the rubric preceding the consecration. To apply them, then, to all the manual acts, and that in a sense which just before had been deemed to be necessary even in regard to one, is logically quite unsound. Moreover, to insist on visibility for all those acts when that rubric speaks only of two is virtually to make a new rubric—exactly the thing which, in a former passage, the Court had declared itself incompetent to do. I think that secrecy should, on all grounds, be eschewed with regard to any manual acts; but when one speaks of legal obligation, one has no right to extend its scope beyond the terms of the law—*i.e.*, in this case of the rubric. I hold that to turn half round

even for the fraction is (1) quite inconsistent with the 'decency'—*i.e.*, the becomingness, of a very solemn prayer; (2) risky, lest particles should drop; (3) quite needless even for the purpose of visibility, for a motion of the priest's arms and hands can perfectly well assure any who desire to look at him at this moment that he is doing what he is bidden to do, which is all that it can be necessary to show them. He can (as 'Episcopus' suggests in *The Guardian*)[1] make the fraction with face eastwards and hands slightly raised, and can then show the several portions of the bread, one in each hand. He can, of course, still looking eastwards, hold the chalice when 'taking it into his hands,' first to one side, then to the other.

I do not suppose that the Judgment requires the mixture of the chalice to take place privately, in the vestry. It has to be done, not as a part of, not as in, the service. I think it had best be done at the credence before the service begins, but while people are in church waiting for service. It is certainly well to avoid all appearance of concealment; few things irritate the English mind so much. I grant also that some minds may feel it more reverential to keep their eyes fixed on the priest throughout the consecration, though most of our devout people bow their heads when the memorial is to be made. I have written a paper on the Judgment for the next *Church Quarterly Review*.[2]

[1] Dec. 10, 1890.

[2] 'The Archbishop of Canterbury's Judgment,' Vol. XXXI., No. lxii., pp. 265 *sqq*.

To a priest of the diocese of Southwell, on Church and Dissent.

BUXTON,
December 7, 1897.

I heard something about your Bishop's success in his address to the Congress, and I hope that the meeting will not have left Nottingham quite as it found it in regard to Church influence. By all accounts, the town was one of the strongholds of Dissent. It is hard to resist the feeling that many dissenters hate the Anglican spirit and dread its influence more than they care for distinctive Christian doctrine; and although one values any tokens of kindliness or equitable judgment from that quarter—such, for instance, as the late Dr. Dale so repeatedly exhibited—yet the essential difference between their theology and ours—between their conception of the kingdom of Christ or of the requirements of definite Christian belief and ours—appears to stand out more distinctly than ever, and to rebuke the futility of such estimates as, not long ago, Archdeacon Sinclair used to suggest as to the merely external character of the grounds of difference between Church and sects, as if they could be melted away by a sufficient exertion of sympathetic feeling on both sides. . . .

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the crisis in the Church.

CHRIST CHURCH,
May 3, 1898.

I am anxious about the Latinizing condition of mind which has expressed itself in a revival of mediæval devotions of a highly sensational type and has given occasion to fanatics and firebrands like Kensit, who represents a modern and adapted form of Elizabethan Puritanism. Educated Evangelicals seem afraid or ashamed to acknowledge him as an agent, but one has always to take account of the huge brute mass of uneducated, lower middle-class antipathy to all that is Churchly in our sense of the word. Nothing, I fear, will expel this perennial cause of trouble from the body of our Church, unless, indeed, disestablishment were to produce internal disruptions. But then one has all the more reason for anxiety, and indeed for effective practical resistance when among one's own friends—so called—a really Romanizing movement furnishes this vulgar Puritanism with topics of denunciation and material for a campaign.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the same.

QUEEN'S HOTEL, EASTBOURNE,
August 25, 1898.

Your Dean does not seem very anxious as to the issue of the Kensit agitation. I am, I confess,

disposed—or, rather, compelled—to be apprehensive ; one knows how inexhaustible, how irreconcilable, is the vulgar Protestantism of the class to which the Paternoster Row bookseller appeals. Our younger brethren in London and elsewhere seem to have lived in a fool's paradise in regard to this grave point. I cannot but hold some of the London clergy very gravely responsible for the storm that is at least menacing us ; and I cannot conceal from myself the fact that, with a certain number—I hope not many—a really Latinizing ideal has determined their action and holds possession of their minds. But it is perhaps all for the best that Kensit and his supporters, some of them in high places, have declared their policy as taking a much broader sweep than the presence of a few distinctly Roman ceremonies. It is an avowed campaign against the whole High Church or Sacramentalist theory ; the object is to make the Church of England simply and aggressively Protestant, and expel from her all who in any sense adhere to the movement of 1833. In this enterprise I believe they will fail. Our business is to keep before fair minds the fact that *they* are the revolutionists, and that their campaign, if successful, would mean disruption. I hope we may say *Passi graviora*, and add *Deus dabit his quoque finem.*

P.S.—There is good in all storms ; and if some of our juniors can be taught by these troubles that there is a real difference between Roman and Anglican conceptions of Christian life and worship

and a real danger, as well as an immediate unwisdom, in excess of ceremonial development, it will be well for them, and indirectly for the Church. I am glad that we have a strong Primate; his recent address was very helpful.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the same.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
October 30, 1898.

The present agitation is proof enough, if proof were wanted, that the Church is in real danger of disruption; the cords which keep discordant or really irreconcilable elements together are strained wellnigh to bursting. The Church Congress type of language about the benefits of comprehension is in a fair way to be discredited by facts, the antagonisms are, as the Duke of Argyll said, too pronounced to be explained away; and our weakest point—the point which will give Romans a special occasion for jubilant scorn—is that they manifest themselves so pointedly and undeniably within our Episcopate. How few of the Bishops have had courage to say that this Puritanical agitation must not be allowed to reduce the Church to the dimensions of a mere Protestant sect; and that its pretensions of zeal for the position of the Church of England must be considered onesided, and therefore morally unreal, while it openly disregards the Church's historical principles, and is absolutely silent when her essential faith is virtually denied. I suppose that Sir William

Harcourt has a real hatred of 'sacerdotalism' on popular-Protestant grounds; and we know, from Mr. Gladstone's own words, that (like so many lawyers, *e.g.*, Lord Grimthorpe) he is intelligently and resolutely Erastian; but I suspect that one motive for his activity in fanning the flame of this new 'popish plot' mania is a wish to bring disestablishment within measurable distance.

To a priest of the diocese of Southwell, on the same.

Christ Church, Oxford,
November 8, 1898.

As yet I have not heard of any riot or outrage in churches of this neighbourhood; Kensit's reply to his Bishop (why did his Bishop ever grace the man so far as to correspond with him?) indicated a resolution to abandon his crusade in its original form. Doubtless he has been warned that it might get him into trouble. Probably also the attacks of Mr. Labouchere have shown him that outside the Churchly area he has powerful adversaries to reckon with; and not a few Protestants are evidently ashamed of having countenanced so complete a specimen of all that a Church reformer ought not to be. But we are by no means out of the wood; nor shall we—nor can we—be so while a distinctly Latin ideal—analogous to that of W. G. Ward in the year before his secession—holds possession of many minds among the clergy, and, even more strongly, of certain lay theologians

who, not having in their own persons the responsibilities of the clergy, are all too prominent in dictating a policy and censuring the heads of the Church. . . . The weak point in the present situation is the inevitable exhibition of irreconcilable differences among those same heads. If we have been indulging in optimistic dreams as to the abatement of differences among Churchmen, we have had a rude, though a salutary, awakening. How glad one feels now that the Pope did not give recognition, such as was eagerly desired by some among us, to Anglican Orders! Had he done so, we should have had a stream of secessions like that of 1846 and the next following years. . . .

To the Rev. Canon ——, on a proposed book of Daily Readings.

March 22, 1899.

Whether 'readings' of any kind are much in daily use, I have no means of judging. I doubt, however, whether they commend themselves to men. And it is for men that just now (in my opinion) we should chiefly provide, whether in devotional literature or in hymnology. In both these departments writers for many years past have, I fear, been too much swayed by woman's supposed wants and real predilections. The result is seen in a grave loss of masculine interest about religion and Church-life — in a serious and increasing diminution of male church-goers. We observe this even here in certain quarters.

To the priest in charge of St. Anne's, Buxton, who, having been one of Dr. Bright's pupils, had taken the opportunity of consulting him, when on a visit to Buxton, what to do as to the use of incense, upon the Archbishops' decision of July 31, 1899.

The Palace Hotel, Buxton,
August 8, 1899.

I should like to comply with so kind a proposal; but I think I shall best follow out my doctor's advice by refraining, while under his treatment, from any unusual exertion, even so much as preaching at St. Anne's would involve. My hip is still at times (as this morning) rather troublesome.

I shall long remember that at St. Anne's last Sunday I saw a fundamental Church principle carried out at the cost of some real sacrifice. I wish I could hope that such a course would be generally adopted; but the line taken at some typical London churches seems to me morally akin to a very stubborn type of Protestantism. It is certainly incompatible with the original tone and spirit of the movement of 1833.

I will endeavour to see you some time this week, avoiding the days on which you will be absent from home.

It has been a great pleasure to renew intercourse with a former pupil under such circumstances as the present.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on the Archbishops' decision as to incense.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
August 25, 1899.

Touching the present trouble, I also wish that the Archbishops had more distinctly sanctioned what is called the still use of incense. But, I presume, that what they allow would include the retention of incense in a pendant censer, or similar vessel, provided that it was not kindled as part and parcel of a ceremonial. The ground which they took has, I think, been misunderstood, not to say misrepresented. They rely much, it is true, on the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity; therefore, it is urged, they Erastianize. The *sequitur* is surely imperceptible. This statute is by no means an ordinary Act of Parliament. Not to say that without it we should never have had our present Ornaments Rubric, it seems to me quite obvious that if Archbishops, when asked to decide a point of legality—I mean, of ecclesiastical legality—may not refer to a statute which has actually stood at the very beginning of the Prayer-Book from 1559 to the present day, one hardly sees what they may found upon. This *Primo Elizabethæ* has acquired a distinctly ecclesiastical character, and retains its place in all complete copies of the Prayer-Book of 1662. And on the showing of the extremists, if its prohibitions are of no force, then nothing remains which can bar the introduction at an individual priest's

will of any ceremony whatever, which it suits him loosely to label Catholic. I think their Graces might have dwelt yet more over the section *Of ceremonies, why some are abolished, etc.* Alas! the developments of externalism have of late years been excessive and unhealthy; men have lost their sense of proportion and their perception of the different susceptibilities of a Teutonic and a Latin people, and their sense of the need of keeping ceremonialism within its due subordinate sphere. If they would only read St. Paul and study the history of the fifteenth century! But what strikes one as more disastrous is the temper of contumacy and selfwill which leaps into action at any check. Surely it is akin to the Protestant ἦθος: at any rate, it is alien to the Tractarian.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on a question raised by the Archbishops' decision in regard to incense, as to whether the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity*, 1559, *received the sanction of Convocation in* 1661.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September, 1899.

Without entering further into the discussion which now crowds the columns of your correspondence, I may be allowed to notice a point of some significance, which seems to have been overlooked by my friend Mr. Denny.

He has argued in effect as follows: That which Convocation in December, 1661, 'approved' was

simply and solely that which it had 'revised.' But it had no commission to revise the Elizabethan Act of Uniformity, and did not revise it. Therefore that Act is external to what Convocation 'approved,' and the Archbishops' argument that it then received 'the authority of the Church' in a more formal manner than mere acquiescence in Elizabeth's reign would involve falls to the ground, and carries a good deal along with it.

Clearly it would not be for Convocation but for Parliament to alter a statute; and, in fact, the Elizabethan statute was in the following spring statutably made (by Charles II.'s Act) to apply to the Prayer-Book as recently revised. There was no occasion for Convocation to ask expressly that this should be done. Of course, it would be done, unless a deadlock occurred between Convocation and Parliament.

Clearly, also, there is a sense in which a statute is not part of a Prayer-Book as a collection of services and rubrics, whether that collection has or has not a distinct 'preface' or 'exordium.' But the question is whether the Elizabethan Act had not long been regarded, and was still regarded in 1661, as inseparably attached to the authorized forms of worship. If it was so, then to approve the forms as revised was to approve it in a sense sufficient for the Archbishops' contention. Now, let us look to the highest documentary authority —that of the solemn Approbation, by the Upper House of Canterbury, on December 20, 1661, of the book as 'reduced to' a particular 'form.' Mr. Denny has quoted the words from *Librum*

Precum to *revisum* inclusive. But what follows immediately after *revisum?* This: *et quingentos quadraginta et quatuor paginas continentem.* So that the *liber*, of which Archbishop Juxon and his Suffragans presently go on to say, *recepimus, et approbavimus, eidemque subscripsimus*,[1] is a book of exactly 544 pages, neither more nor less. But this MS. 'Annexed' Book, as reprinted with due official certificate in 1891, exhibits on its second page 'the Contents of this Book,' of which No. 1 is 'the Act for the Uniformitie of Common Prayer'; and that Act, dated as 'primo Elisabethae' (not 'primo Elisabeth,' as Sancroft had written in the 'Black-Letter Prayer-Book'), comes next after the 'Contents,' *and extends from the third to the eleventh page inclusive*, being transcribed exactly in the same hand which appears in the rest of the book. Thus, if the Act is *not*, in a real sense, 'contained' in the book, the numeration in the table of contents (as the Bishop of Edinburgh has observed) is wrong from No. 1 to No. 27—that is, throughout; and, what is much more serious, if it is not included in what Convocation 'received and approved,' the approbation itself, describing the book, is wrong by nine pages too many.

[1] Parker, *Introduction to the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer*, p. ccccxlv.

To the Editor of The Guardian, *on points arising out of the Archbishops' decision as to incense.*

October, 1899.

Old English punctuation is by no means an unfailing guide to the sense; it is often no more than a guide to pauses in reading. This must be well known to all who have examined the Sealed Books, and if it had always been remembered, there need have been no controversy as to a well-known answer in the Catechism. However, the 'Statutes of the Realm' put only a comma before the clauses about 'alterations' in the Elizabethan Act and *no* comma between 'by authority of Parliament' and 'in the second year' in the thirteenth clause of the same Act.[1] The truth is that the combined phrase is a technical designation, the authority in question being that of a Parliament holden in, and thus belonging to, the year January 28, 1548, to January 28, 1549.

The letter of 'Observer' might well suggest comment on its tone in censuring the heads of the English Church (which would have deeply shocked the great Tractarians) and on its wild treatment of early Church history. It is curious to compare what Dr. Sanday does say on page 13 of his pamphlet[2] (the generous tone of which will be appreciated by all High Churchmen) with what 'Observer' makes him say. Perhaps one

[1] *Cf.* Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, etc., pp. 459, 466.

[2] *The Catholic Movement and the Archbishops' Decision* (1899).

may be permitted to doubt whether we can altogether rely on the inventories of Constantine's gifts to the great Roman basilicas as having full contemporary authority; and Duchesne, although he regards them as such, ranks 'a *fixed* censer' as among 'vessels less commonly used' (*Liber Pontificalis*, I., p. cxliv.). And some will think that the censers which Silvia[1] saw carried (after certain prayers) into 'the *Cave* of the Resurrection' would most likely, in such a place, have a 'fumigatory' purpose.[2] But it may be best to dwell on two points: the argument from 'The Order of the Communion as to the import of the thirteenth clause,' and the reference to a passage in the Preface to the Prayer-Book of 1661-62.

On the first point, the argument, as I understand it, is this: Edward VI., in March, 1548, early in his 'second year,' put forth a form for administering Communion during Mass, 'without the varying of any other rite or ceremony in the Mass'[3] up to the priest's own communion. The Proclamation[4] which introduced it referred to an Act of Parliament.[5] Therefore, when Elizabeth's

[1] Silvia was a lady of Aquitaine who made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, *c.* 385, and has left us a description of the rites and ceremonies she saw there. *Cf.* the *Peregrinatio S. Silviæ* in Duchesne, *Origines*, etc., App. 4. The passage alluded to is on p. 474.

[2] *Cf.* Bishop John Wordsworth, *The Ministry of Grace*, pp. 322 *sq.*

[3] Cardwell, *Two Liturgies*, etc., p. 428 (3rd ed., 1852).

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 425 *sq.*

[5] 1 Ed. VI., c. 1: for which see Gee and Hardy, *Documents*, etc., pp. 322 *sqq.*

Parliament, by the thirteenth clause of the Act of Uniformity, legalized (provisionally) all the ornaments which had 'authority of Parliament' in her brother's 'second year,'[1] it *ipso facto* legalized all the ceremonies of the Mass as they were maintained under 'the Order of Communion,' and went on until the First Book was established in the beginning of 1549. But the Act cited in Edward's Proclamation (1 Edw. VI., c. 1) did not prescribe any such 'Order,' and would have been sufficiently carried out if the priests had simply administered in both kinds to their communicants; the new 'Order' was put forth by the boy-King's own authority, with the advice, it is implied, of the Protector and the Privy Council. Next, the phrase 'by authority of Parliament,' would hardly have been used by the framers of the Act of 1559 in regard to what had only *indirect* Parliamentary sanction; it clearly points to a sanction direct and explicit. Again, only seven years before that Act, an Act is cited in 5 and 6 Edward VI., c. 1 (*i.e.*, in the second Edwardian Act of Uniformity), as 'made *in the second year* of the King's Majesty's reign,'[2] and that Act is the First Act of Uniformity[3] *which authorized the first Prayer-Book;* so that, on this evidence, there is no occasion for going back to 1548 for the interpretation of the Elizabethan provision about 'ornaments.' And, lastly, so to go back would involve the gravest improbabilities. For we should have to suppose that Elizabeth's first Parliament, in the very act of

[1] *Ibid.*, p. 466. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 371.
[3] *Ibid.*, pp. 358 *sqq.*

abolishing the ritual practised under 'our late Sovereign Lady Queen Mary,'[1] advisedly retained for Church use ('until other order should be taken')[2] the ornaments of the unreformed worship, with the exception of the very few which in 1548 were already abolished by injunctions, such as the Paschal candle. It is worth while to look at the list of things required in Bonner's Visitation articles of 1554 to be provided for the churches (Cardwell, *Documentary Annals*, i., p. 151); and this, while knowing that Edward, in publishing his 'Order,' gave fair warning that further changes in the form of worship would be announced 'with all convenient speed.'[3] Is this conceivable in the circumstances? What would those counsellors of Elizabeth have said who had felt it necessary to thwart her own desire of restoring the First Book? And those precursors of the Puritans whose ideal had been formed, let us say, at Zürich, who groaned under the scandal of the Queen's altar cross and tapers, who would fain have got rid of the surplice itself—would not they have filled the air with the storm of their protest against such a wholesale 'return to Babylon'? Doubtless Sandys, not then a Bishop, did say, two days after the Act passed, that it retained, for the time, the ornaments of the *first and* second years[4]; but he was doubly misinformed as to its wording, and may have been vaguely thinking of the First Book in the light of what might be

[1] Gee and Hardy, p. 459. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 466.
[3] *Two Liturgies*, p. 426.
[4] *Parker Correspondence*, p. 65.

called a preparatory process, which, in a sense, had begun in December, 1547. The whole stream of authority and probability is in favour of connecting the clause about ornaments in the Act, and the Ornaments Rubric in both its forms, with the provisions of the First Book.

The passage in the Preface, too often used as if it gave individual priests a perfectly free hand for introducing into their services any observance which they deem 'Catholic,' although it be not recognised in the Prayer-Book, is simple enough if read as it there stands. 'We have rejected,' it is said, all proposals for alteration of the Prayer-Book (as it came before Convocation for revision) which 'struck at some . . . laudable practice of the Church of England, *or indeed of the whole Catholic Church of Christ*.' Here, manifestly, the scope of the passage is limited to what was in the Prayer-Book. The Puritanic objectors had asked that this, that, or the other practice, having Prayer-Book authority, should be deprived of it. The reply comes to this: 'The things which you object to are good Anglican practices; and some of them have a further claim, being observed throughout the whole Church. In their case, then, there are *two* good reasons against change.' In short, the passage contemplates such 'Catholic practices' as are recognised by the Prayer-Book, and goes no further. It does not warrant the claim of a 'freedom' signally 'unchastened,' and fatal alike to authority and to good order.

To the Rev. ——, in criticism of a 'Report of the Committee on Church Reform' accepted by the Salisbury Diocesan Synod, 1900.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 26, 1900.

I cannot, I own, attach much practical importance to, or feel much interest in, schemes for Church Reform in the sense of self-government, so long as Establishment lasts, and places us under what is in fact a Parliamentary supremacy.

But the draft scheme is, in my opinion, objectionable in several respects. It places the lay communicant on a footing of absolute equality with the pastors of the Church on all the subjects which are supposed to come before the 'General Synod.' It professes to reserve certain subjects as outside the purview of the 'National Synod.' I cannot believe that this is anything better than a mere paper safeguard. Any layman may start a discussion on the doctrinal sense of the Anglican formularies with regard to some case which at the moment excites interest or is connected with popular agitation, or, as you say, to propose some revision of this or that part of the Prayer-Book; and is it conceivable that the Synod will be stopped from discussing such a matter by an appeal or reference to 'the next Pananglican'? In this and in other points the scheme appears to me hopelessly 'doctrinaire' and unpractical—I might say, academic.

That assurance that the laity will always be conservative requires the counter question, 'Conservative of what?' Are we as yet in a position to say that lay communicants will be sufficiently trained—if you like, educated—in Church principles (using that term in no narrow sense) as to be capable of so vast a trust as this scheme confides to them? Ireland is not far off, and the conduct of its laity in the Synod is not wholly without significance for ourselves. And if electors of lay representatives are not to be communicants, it is quite idle to claim primitive sanction for the idea involved in the scheme. As we all know, a non-communicant layman in primitive times was *not* a layman, *not* a *fidelis*, *not* practically a member of the Church. As for churchwardens, their case, if adduced, is only one more anomaly incident to our 'established' position. And if you are drawing out a scheme for all time, you should not perpetuate anomalies which in themselves and on religious grounds are incapable of defence.

The scheme has no chance of being made a reality, otherwise one would seriously deprecate it. But I confess that one point in it touches my sense of humour. This new 'body need not interfere with' the Convocations. What place logically, or practically, would they have in presence of this brand-new 'Synod'? I fancy that if this were read out in our Lower House it would strike most of the hearers as—well, as comic. As for a more adequate representation of the parochial clergy in Convocation, we know that the lawyers bar the way to it.

All this reminds one a little of Carlyle's picture of 'constitution making' in the French Revolution. Abbé Sieyès was fertile in beautiful paper schemes. But they would not 'march.'

As for 'the primitive church' and its precedents, no doubt our conditions are different from those of old in various respects, partly for gain, partly—I must needs think—for loss. Pedantic archaism is itself mere folly; but still, after all, however made, the question recurs: Are we going to throw overboard the principle of our traditional theology, and, indeed, of our Reformation? Has that principle nothing to say to us when we are plunging forward into new, and, one might say, revolutionary, plans of ecclesiastical reconstruction? Is such a plunge to be taken with a 'light heart,' without grave apprehension of the danger of such false steps as cannot, humanly speaking, be recalled? Dr. Pusey has *not* been refuted on the main point as to whether the laity were constituent members of ancient Synods. I have said something of this in my *Aspects of Primitive Church Life*, c. 2. It would be interesting if you could obtain from Prebendary —— an answer to two definite questions. (1) Is there any producible evidence that the laity, as such, were present as an Order (not simply present in the persons of laymen who could inform or advise) at any one of the great ancient Synods, or that they 'sat apart, voted *en masse*,' etc? (2) Is there any evidence that this lay Order could and did, as of right, demand a suspension of the conclusions arrived at by the rest of the Synod? If such evidence exists, let

us know what it is. As at present advised, I simply deny both propositions ; and, in particular, I am astonished to find the Council of Chalcedon claimed as an instance of the truth of the first.

May I add that, if laymen are placed on a footing of absolute equality with Bishops and clergy in regard to matters involving doctrine, the principle on which such equalization would be rested would logically extend to the admission of laymen to teach in church on a parity with the ordained pastors? For to decide a question of doctrine is to teach, is to 'divide the word,'[1] in a sense peculiarly effective.

It would be quite another matter to recognise in laymen the right of saying: 'This is not in accordance with the teaching which has heretofore been received, and in which we as Churchmen have a very direct interest.'

Unquestionably, the rights of deacons cannot be ignored if the rights of laics are put forward in so pronounced a form.

I would not seem to forget the large area of manifold influences which the faithful Laity did certainly possess in regard to the administration of Church affairs, and even in regard to Synods ; nor, again, the peculiarly representative function (I know the word is ambiguous, but one has to use it) which the Bishop, as the elect of his clergy and his people, could in ancient times appropriately discharge.

Three things seem at this juncture peculiarly important for Church Reformers to bear in

[1] 2 Tim. ii. 15.

mind. First, not to loosen their hold on old moorings, and drift out into untried waters without the restraint of principles which are imbedded in the New Testament account of Church life—*e.g.*, the principle that authority is 'from above and not from below.' Secondly, to scrutinize, very strictly, proposed 'safeguards,' which may turn out to be shams. And, thirdly, to remember that 'one can't have just as much of an argument as one likes'—that, if we admit an unchurchly principle to a certain extent, we shall find that it will constrain us to 'go with it' further, and that, perhaps, to very embarrassing extremes.

To the same, in reference to the same.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
September 28, 1900.

The laymen seem to forget that, if they want to be teachers of doctrine co-ordinately with the ordained pastors, they ought, at least, to qualify themselves for such a function. At present, as laymen, they give no guarantee whatever that they have done anything to prepare themselves for it.

I am not personally opposed to the House of Laymen scheme, as proposed by way of development of the existing system sanctioned by Convocation and carried into effect. The *fideles* have a clear right to say, 'We cannot accept this or that new doctrinal formula'—to veto it, in short. But if there is a ministry 'given to'[1] the

[1] Eph. iv. 7,[1]8, 11; *cf.* 'set over the household' (Luke xii. 42).

Church, and not invented by the Church, and if that ministry has a stewardship[1] of truth as well as of grace, it is impossible to acquiesce in demands which involve a denial of its Divine institution.

To Prebendary ——, on the rights of the Laity.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
March 31, 1900.

. . . Mr. Macleane has referred to you as having expressed a strong opinion in favour of the right, *on ancient evidence*, of laymen to constituent membership in Synod, and I therefore suggested the two questions which he transmitted to you. Of course, I should not *ultro* have troubled you in the matter. But I will ask you kindly to let him see what I now write by way of comment.

I. (1) As to Leo's 102nd letter[2]—I need not say that it is not new to me. But you must allow me to express my surprise at the construction which you place on the context, *cum ob hoc ipsum sexcentorum fere fratrum co-episcoporumque nostrorum synodus congregata, nullam artem ratiocinandi, nullum eloquium disserendi contra fundatam divinitus fidem spirare permiserit.*[3] Leo distinctly defines the Synod as consisting of 'about 600 Bishops.' Then he speaks of its

[1] *Cf.* Luke xii. 42; 1 Cor. iv. 1.
[2] *Leonis Epp.*, pp. 1136 *sqq.* (*ap.* Migne, *P. L.*, tom liv., coll. 983 *sqq.*).
[3] *Ep.* cii., c. 2, p. 1137 (Migne, *P. L.*, liv. 986A).

results, emphasizing the pains taken by his own legates, and saying that it has been made clear, *non solum sacerdotibus Christi, sed etiam principibus et potestatibus Christianis, cunctisque cleri et plebis ordinibus*, that the doctrine which he maintains (*e.g.*, in his *Tome*[1]) is orthodox. What proof is there in these words that 'the princes, and orders,' etc. were constituent members of the Synod? Assuredly, none at all! Pius IV. might have used similar language after the Council of Trent, from his own point of view—*i.e.*, that now the authentic doctrine of the (Roman) Church had been unequivocally made manifest to all (Roman Catholic) Christendom. And, on your showing, Valentinian must have been a member of the Council of Chalcedon, personally or by representation. So must his Prætorian prefects; nay, all the Western clergy, all the Western laymen, must have been in exactly the same condition,—every single priest, deacon, laic in the world must have thus acted as a constituent member of the Synod, which, some eight lines above, is described by the writer of the passage as consisting of *fratrum co-episcoporumque nostrorum.*

You seem to assume that the *sacerdotibus Christi* are merely the 600 or more at Chalcedon, whereby Leo is thinking of all Bishops everywhere as thus informed of the truth.

(2) In the beginning of the seventh session [of

[1] *Cf.* Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo on the Incarnation*, pp. 109 *sqq.* (2nd ed., 1886).

the Council of Chalcedon], you rely on καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς . . . συνόδου following on καὶ λοιπῶν ἐπισκόπων. But after λοιπῶν comes τῶν προειρημένων,[1] which I take to refer to the names recited in the fuller list given in the sixth session, after which follows 'and the rest of the holy Bishops.'[2] It seems to me clear that 'the above-named' (in session vii.) mean the chief or leading Bishops. In session vii. the names of this class, besides the Roman legates, are Anatolius, Maximus, Juvenal, Quintillus, Anastasius (by proxy), and Thalassius. In the corresponding, but longer, list in session vi., six others (seven, including a proxy) are mentioned; and these make up, in my opinion, the 'above-named.' Then, 'the rest of the holy Œcumenical Synod' naturally means all the other Bishops, present or represented, just as in session vii. we have καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν. The words 'the rest of the Synod' must be interpreted consistently with the language defining the Synod as meaning the 600 or more Bishops, all of whom sat, as the context goes on to say, in front of the sanctuary-screen.[3] What ground have we for saying that presbyters, or deacons, or laity sat there? What room would there be for so huge a crowd as this construction supposes? I might add that, if 'the rest of the Synod' were interpreted to mean others besides Bishops, that would not prove that the persons in question were laics. Of course, the Imperial Commissioners were there, not as laics, but as representa-

[1] Mansi, vii. 180B. [2] *Ibid.*, 127B. [3] *Ibid.*, 180B.

tives of the Emperor. They were, in a sense, the Presidents.

(3) You refer to a letter of Pulcheria to the Consular of Bithynia. It is in Mansi, vi. 555, 556. You infer from it that there were clerics, monks, and laics, who were, and others who were not, summoned or 'called' to attend at Chalcedon. But you must observe that, a few lines lower down, after λαϊκοὺς, comes οὓς οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐπὶ σύνοδον καλεῖν. The former words, then, δίχα ἡμετέρας κλήσεως, must be taken with these; and they mean that the imperial authority is necessary in order to warrant the presence of non-members in Chalcedon; and they imply, taken with the context, that the Sovereigns do not mean to give such warrant, lest tumults arise to the disturbance of 'the Synod' itself. The letter is illustrated by the imperial citation (Mansi, vi. 551), bidding the Metropolitans to attend with those of their Bishops whom they think fit. Could anything be more distinct as showing who were to constitute the Assembly? And, in the previous Council of 448, the admission of one layman, Florentius, is distinctly marked as exceptional, as ordered by Theodosius[1] on the ground that he was orthodox and approved in faith. If the Laity, as such, had had at the time an acknowledged right to proper membership in Synod, this language would not have been held (compare Mansi, vi. 733).

As to the latter part of my question, observe

[1] Mansi, vi. 732C.; Hefele, iii. *p.* 199: Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, ii. p. 455.

that I am not contending one way or another as to practical modern arrangements; my point of view is purely historical. I do not admit that laymen were 'members' of these Councils at all. There is no question that they were often present; but the one point at issue is their membership. Now, I have never seen as yet any proof, or any approach to a proof, that they were such 'members,' and it is precisely this that has to be proved. I cannot, for my part, admit that the *onus* lies with me to show that they were not, any more (if you will permit me the illustration) than I can admit (or, in controversy with the late Dr. Rivington, could admit) that the *onus* lies with Anglicans to show that the Pope was not in primitive times the acknowledged ruler of the Church. It seems to me that you start with the presumption that the Laity, as such, must have been members of Synods in antiquity. I start with no preassumption at all; I simply say, 'We know that Synods were held: we know that, when they first came forward, they are described as consisting of (or, if you like, as containing) Bishops. That is clear from Eusebius, *H.E.*, v. 23.' I ask, 'Have we any evidence that other classes or orders were in a like position?' If it exists, it must be producible. Let it be produced, and we will do it all justice. Until it is produced, we must go by the evidence that we have. 'But,' you say, 'laymen signed synodical decrees, and would not have been allowed to do so if they had not been constituent members.' In what sense did they sign? To sign as consenting, or simply to sign

implying consent, is one thing; to sign as defining is another. And no lay signatures appear in the acts of the great Synods. Cyprian's Synods, at which many laymen were present, consisted, as the speeches show, of Bishops. Archbishop Benson complains of this, while he notes the presence of laymen,[1] evidently showing that mere presence does not at all imply membership. I must plead that, until proof of membership on historical grounds is forthcoming, references to mere presence are *nil ad rem.*

II. Then for my second question. It meant, 'Assuming, for argument's sake, that laics were present *qua* laics, as an order'—which, in view of existing evidence, I do not admit—'can you show that they, in that capacity, could command a suspension of the decisions of (what you call) the rest of the Synod?' You answer, in effect, 'We do not possess enough evidence as to any order having that power; but we may assume that each must have had it.' Now, I grant, of course, that Bishops, or clerics, or laics, might, out of Synod, join in demanding a new Council. But this would not be a synodical act, and I understand you to be thinking of action in Synod. Again, a cleric or a laic, aggrieved by being condemned in a Synod, might appeal to a higher Synod. But that is a different matter.

Now for what 'puts your back up.' Well, I, too, have a back, and it objects to your expression 'dummies.' I never said or thought that laymen, present at Synods, and competent to give testi-

[1] Benson, *Cyprian*, pp. 426 *sqq.*

mony or advice, were debarred from doing so. I believe that very often their presence was influential. All I say is, 'Neither they, nor, as a rule, presbyters or deacons, were present as members proper; but both clerics and competent laics, present as hearers, were also capable of being consulted.' Only, I repeat, before you speak of what laics might do, or might not do, in their capacity of members of Synods, you must first 'catch your hare'—you must show the fact of membership. And, when you quote Haddan, I must remind you of what he goes on to say in the self-same sentence—that 'no proof at all exists that the laity . . . ever voted individually in actual divisions.'[1] But this is surely the one differentiating point of real membership in an assembly.

When you speak of Dr. Pusey as having contended for the autocracy of Bishops, I can only regret that you have not read his preface to vol. ii. of St. Cyprian, in the *Library of the Fathers*. I need not discuss what you impute to him as his 'theory.' But I will remind you that a very unsuspected authority in the eighteenth century maintains that neither clergy nor people had 'decisive voices' in ancient Synods, and gives reasons for the proposition. That authority is Archbishop Potter (*Church Government*, c. 5)[2].

The Laity, you say, had in primitive times a function of bearing witness to Apostolic doctrine generally, and this function had its exercise in

[1] Smith and Cheetham, *Dictionary of Christian Antiquities*, i. p. 482.

[2] Works, ii. pp. 124 *sqq.* (ed. Oxford, 1753).

Synods. They certainly, you will admit, had not the same function as the Pastors of the Church, for they were not commissioned to 'preach the Word.' Therefore, they could not, on your own showing (in fact, you say so), have the same power at Synods as the Pastors had. But the present contention is that they shall have the same power. I should say that their influence, being real when they were *fideles* and competent, found its natural exercise in all sorts of ways, as well as by their presence as auditors and advisers at Synods. The problem for modern Churchmen is *to define their layman*, and to secure that he shall be *really competent to do what could be done by his primitive predecessors.*

P.S.—I ought not, I think, to pass over your appeal to the formulary for holding a Council, translated by Keble. You quote as if it spoke of common consultation by, or of, 'the Bishops, presbyters, deacons and laymen, who are contrasted with the rest, who are not members of the Council.' Pardon me: this is not a fair representation of the text. (1) We hear first of laymen (I had better quote the briefer Latin from Mansi, x. 617): *Ingrediantur laici qui electioni* (read *electione*) *Concilii meruerunt interesse*:[1] this at once excludes the idea of an intrinsic right. Then (2), towards the end, *Si presbyter aliquis aut diaconus, clericus, sive laicus, de his qui foris steterint, Concilium pro qualibet re crediderit appellandum*,[2] he is to let the Archdeacon know of it, and then be

[1] Col. 617C *ad fin.* [2] Col. 618B.

allowed to enter and state his case These cases, of course, are distinct from those whom the Council had permitted before to be present. Now for the words which, I submit, are not properly represented in your pamphlet (p. 27): *Concilium quoque nullus solvere audeat, nisi fuerint cuncta determinata: ita ut quæcunque deliberatione communi finiantur, Episcoporum singulorum manibus subscribantur.* Words could not more clearly show that the common deliberation is to be the act of the Bishops; and that the document gives no warrant for including with them, in regard to it, either presbyters, deacons, or laymen.

To the same, on the same subject.

Christ Church,
April 26, 1900.

I shall best thank you for the kindness of your letter by coming at once to the point. My present interest in the question, I may here remark, is simply historical. I hold no brief for any view as to modern Synods: and I am not, therefore, to be understood, in this letter or in the preceding, as wishing to advocate this or that programme for modern synodal action.

I. I begin, then, with Leo's 102nd letter. Your construction of the passage *Cum ob hoc* . . . supposes Leo to refer to transactions in the Council of Chalcedon—in fact, to what took place in its fifth session. But you overlook, I think, the fact that Leo is writing three months after

that session, and is thinking of what could not be said to have taken place until some time after the Chalcedonian definition had thus been adopted, *universo jam mundo consentiente.*[1] That is, he is referring to the general acceptance of it in the Catholic world of that day. But this is not all. You suppose him to say that a very decided minority is called 'the Council' itself, and then is said to have made a certain thing clear to, what you take to be, the vast majority of members, consisting of Princes, and Powers, and Bishops, and all orders of clergy and laity. Your hypothesis requires them to be regarded as *members* in the proper sense of the term. What evidence, then, one asks, is there for 'so large an order' as this view involves? Not one iota; the evidence goes the other way. If your theory is maintained, it cannot be maintained in any slighter form than that of the membership of all Valentinian III.'s state officers or provincial rulers, all Bishops of the West as well as of the East, and, by representation, every cleric and every laic in Christendom. Truly a portentous Council! Now, the Western Empire was but very scantily represented at Chalcedon; there were hardly any Western Bishops beyond the Roman legates—certainly, no laics of the West [were] present, or [are] in any way referred to. Surely your construction rests on a very shaky basis! I will come presently to the language of Marcian and Pulcheria as to Eastern Bishops, or, as you suppose, of other Easterns as well; but your argument, as involved

[1] *Leonis Epp. p.* 1138 (*Ep.* cii., c. 2, Migne, *P. L.*, liv. 986B).

in your construction, proves, I submit, a great deal too much.

My construction is simple and natural. Leo says that the Synod of Bishops, with the aid of the Legates, has made the true doctrine clear to a vast number of persons who were not present in any sense at Chalcedon, but all [of whom] have heard of its definition of the faith. As he is writing to Gallic bishops, one quite sees the point of his reference to *Sacerdotes Christi* at the head of the persons who have thus been instructed.

II. I will now take the language of the Emperor and Empress.

1. Marcian most certainly implies (Leo, Ep. 76),[1] that the Synod will consist of Bishops. You repeatedly assume that this language, whenever used, is popular, current, lax—meaning no more than that Bishops are the chief members of the Synods. I think we have no right thus to explain away—it is nothing less—this formal and official language. Marcian writes as Emperor, and his words ought to have their full weight.

2. Then for Pulcheria—she writes, before the Council, to the Consular of Bithynia:[2] he is to take care that no person shall remain in Chalcedon who has no business there, as clerics or others, lest they disturb the Synod. As for her phrase, 'without any summons of ours,' it is, I think, quite arbitrary to infer that there were others, not being Bishops, but monks, clerics or laics, whom she did

[1] *Leonis Epp. pp.* 1025 *sqq.* (*Ep.* lxxvi. *ap.* Migne, *P. L.*, liv., coll. 903 *sqq.*).

[2] Mansi, vi. 555.

summon. (*a*) If a farmer catches a boy of the village trespassing, and says, 'I never gave you leave to come here,' that does not imply that he had given leave to other boys. (*b*) The words, 'Whom no principle summons to a Synod'—literally, 'Whom there is no reason to call to a Synod'[1]—may refer to monks and clerics, as well as laics; but they *do* certainly refer to laics. Pulcheria clearly supposes in this official letter that 'the holy Synod' will consist of the Bishops who came to Chalcedon 'by virtue of an imperial order,'[2] and this naturally interprets her phrase on which, to my surprise, you build so much κοινῇ παρὰ πάντων κρατυνθῆναι[3] immediately following the reference to the Synod. In an earlier letter of hers to Leo (Ep. 77)[4] she implies the like. You say, however, that Hefele admits that there were other members of that Synod besides the Bishops. If you refer to vol. i., p. 32, I must observe that he is speaking of the Commissioners of the Empress, whose presence proves nothing at all as to the right of laity, *qua* laity. They were sent to represent the State, to keep order, and generally to regulate the proceedings. (We may compare the Czar's Commissioners in a Russian Synod.) In the very first session, when certain clerics attendant on Anatolius were understood to speak, the Egyptian Bishops appealed to the fact that this

[1] οὓς οὐδεὶς λόγος ἐπὶ σύνοδον καλεῖν. Mansi, vi. 556C.
[2] *Ibid.* 556B.
[3] *Ibid.* 556D.
[4] *Leonis Epp.*, p. 1030 (Migne, *P. L.*, liv. 905).

was a Synod of Bishops, not of clerics.[1] And, once for all, any argument from such presence of clerics must be set aside, when we consider that (as in the case of Arles, in that of Nicæa, and in that of the Council of Antioch in 269) clerics did accompany their Bishops to Councils. It was a well-understood custom; but they were simply there to assist, inform, suggest, sometimes, as in the case of Malchion[2] and Athanasius, with excellent effect: but nobody imagines that (*e.g.*) Athanasius was one of 'the Nicene Fathers.' I know it is hard for us to realize what, to our notions, is anomalous—the presence and influence of persons who had no *votum decisivum*, no share in framing the actual conclusions arrived at. But the difficulty may be lightened when we recollect that Bishops in the early Church were natural representatives alike of their clergy and of their people.

III. Now as to the words in the Acts of the seventh session of Chalcedon, *καὶ λοιπῶν τῶν προειρημένων . . . εὐλαβεστάτων ἐπισκόπων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς συνόδου.* The adjective, *εὐλαβεστάτων*, I do not at all restrict to Metropolitans or Primates; such a notion would be absurd. And you seem to interpret *προειρημένων* as looking back to the list of the sixth session, which is what I suggested. I take it to refer, not to all the Bishops named in that list, but to the chief Bishops. The Acts of the seventh session recite a small number of

[1] Hefele, iii. p. 302; Bright, *Age of the Fathers*, ii. p. 518.

[2] At Antioch, 269. *Cf.* Hefele, i. *p.* 121; and Routh, *Rell. Sacr.*, iii. pp. 287 *sqq.*

chief Bishops, Primates, or Metropolitans. Then they say, 'And the rest of the above-named.' I interpret this to mean the rest of the chief Bishops as more fully enumerated in the sixth session, where, after the Roman legates, came eleven (or, in Latin, twelve) Bishops of high rank, as those of Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, Thessalonica (by deputy), etc., and afterwards *καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν*.[1] In the seventh session the list of such chief Bishops is shorter, and I refer *προειρημένων* to those who are there omitted. But as to *καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς . . .*, observe that the rest of the Synod is said in the next words to have been assembled by the order of the Emperor,[2] and we know whom he did order to assemble, *Bishops*. Compare session 5, *καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς συνόδου*, where Hefele says: 'Of the Bishops who were present . . . the Greek Acts name only three, the Latin translation forty-seven more. The presence of the rest is expressed by the formula *καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς . . . συνόδου*.'[3]

But you rely on Marcian's short speech to the Council in that sixth session, after the *Definitio Fidei* had been read, as it was passed in the fifth session. He asks the Synod to say whether the Definition had been put forth with the approval, *of whom?* Of all members of the Synod—episcopal, cleric, or laic—as you contend? No: 'of the holy *Bishops*.' And all assent: 'We all

[1] Mansi, vii. 127B.

[2] *τῆς λοιπῆς ἁγίας καὶ οἰκουμενικῆς συνόδου, τῆς κατὰ θέσπισμα τοῦ θειοτάτου καὶ εὐσεβεστάτου ἡμῶν δεσπότου ἐν τῇ Χαλκηδονέων πόλει συναθροισθείσης. Ibid.*, 180B.

[3] *Councils*, iii. p. 342.

so believe.'[1] How can he be imagined to be including others than Bishops in this language? You say they had already signed the Definition: yes, but in the absence of most of his Commissioners! And, in a matter so solemn and critical, he might well wish to get the whole Synod's express reaffirmation, in his own presence, of the conclusions reached in the fifth session. He might thus wish to make assurance doubly sure. As for the words in the fifth session, 'Let the Metropolitans now sign,'[2] they prove nothing relevant; and the words, *τὸ παρὰ τῶν ἁγίων πατέρων τυπωθέντα καὶ πᾶσιν ἀρέσαντα*, are spoken by the Commissioners. What is the ground for supposing that the *πάντες* means others besides 'the holy fathers'? None that I can see, looking at the documents. It was unanimity among the Bishops on the doctrinal question that was all-important, and it was quite natural for Greeks, with their love of amplification and their indifference to iteration, to add the clause which thus committed *all*.

IV. Before I go further, I must needs notice a charge which, I cannot but think needlessly, you bring against me of preassuming the main point. You say that I 'start with the assumption that the Synod *must* have consisted of Bishops only, and then assume that whatever appears to the contrary must be made to square with that assumption.' Now, I had expressly disclaimed this method in my first letter; I had said, and I now say, that I assume nothing to start with. I find, in Eusebius

[1] Mansi, vii. 169B. [2] *Ibid.*, 117A.

and elsewhere, Synods described as of Bishops; there is ample evidence that they, at any rate, were constituent members—*i.e.*, had *votum decisivum*. As to presbyters, the evidence from the great conciliar documents is that (except as proxies for absent Bishops) they had not this *votum*. They certainly had not in Cyprian's Synods. We do hear of a Synod of Bishops and presbyters depriving Origen of his catechist's office, but of a Synod of Bishops as deposing him from priesthood.[1] We know that presbyters often assisted Bishops in a Synod, and were called 'assessors'; but that, I think, is as far as we can get. But the crucial point at present refers to the Laity. Were they members of ancient Synods? Were they possessed of *votum decisivum?*—for that is the criterion of proper membership. I know of no grain of evidence for the affirmative. 'A certain status,' you quote from Haddan. Yes, but what status? That is precisely the point on which you are concerned to give a 'view.' I need not be reminded that one cannot take just what one likes of evidence, interpret it according to one's wishes, and neglect the rest, and I really think I have given no occasion at all for any such admonition. I have asked for distinct evidence; I am not barring it out by any preassumption; but, on the other hand, I cannot allow the *onus* to be thrown on me to disprove lay membership, when it is precisely the point on which I am entitled to say, 'Prove it.' There has not, so far as I know, been produced any evidence that lay-

[1] *Cf.* Hefele, i. p. 88.

men, *qua* laymen, and in virtue of an ecclesiastical right, were summoned to Synods—I mean *as members*, not as mere spectators, auditors, possible witnesses; that they took part in the shaping of synodical decrees; that they formally voted; or even that (as you suppose) they even asked for a 'suspension' of the decision or 'proposed action.' It is no argument to suppose this; it has to be historically proved.

My qualifying words '*qua* laymen' refer to (α) such a case as that of Florentius, whom an imperial order introduced at Flavian's Synod *re* Eutyches, because he was an orthodox person and theologically instructed; or (β) the presence of lay Commissioners of the Emperor, referred to above.

I see that you cite what Socrates[1] says about laymen skilled in reasoning at Nicæa; but this was before the formal and solemn commencement of the synodical proceedings, and it proves nothing whatever as to the only point at issue, and would prove nothing even if it had taken place in a regular session. But you also say that, as to practice, it is found 'beyond all possibility of dispute that neither Bishops nor clergy have exclusively kept synodal duties to themselves; the part taken by laymen in them may be minimized, but denied it cannot be.' This proposition is not to me quite clearly intelligible; at any rate, it wants precision and distinctness, and I can only deal with it by saying: If it means *lay-membership*, I know as yet of no evidence to support it; if it means

[1] *Hist. Eccl.*, i. 8.

what comes short of such membership, it is *nil ad rem.*

I turn to a few details. I am a little surprised that you refer to a Roman Synod of the early part of the eighth century, when you had already, after adducing it, disparaged the seventh-century method of holding a Synod and admitting the laics (not as of right). But I observe under A.D. 715 that at a Lombard Synod three Bishops use the form, *judicatum a nobis actum;* an Archdeacon says, *judicatum interfui;* and presbyters sign simply, *ego . . . presbiter.*[1] It is true that in the Synod of 721 not only one, but three, of the priests sign with '*a nobis promulgato*';[2] but so does a deacon,[3] which shows, I think, that 'promulgate' was used in divers senses. You refer to divers forms of signing, and ask whether συναινέσας means less than ὁρίσας. I do not suppose that it does. It simply illustrates that love of varying phrases which comes out so quaintly in Anglo-Saxon documents, and was evidently a motive long before. But, then, you also disparage all signing as comparatively an insignificant act, because of diversities of usage. I do not see the *sequitur;* and I cannot read the old conciliar Acts without seeing that (*e.g.*, at Chalcedon) great importance was attached to the act of signature, and questions were raised as to its voluntariness, etc. You say, without giving proof, that laymen signed on numerous occasions. I think this needs qualification. And as to the

[1] Mansi, xii. 256. [2] *Ibid.*, xii. 265.
[3] *Ibid.*, xii. 266.

second Council of Orange—as to which I vexed Archdeacon Churton years ago by differing from him—the case of lay-signature there, I need not say, proves nothing as to *membership*. I have already adverted to the presence of clerics as attendants on their Bishops: you quote Constantine's order that every Bishop going to Arles shall take two priests with him. You are quite inaccurate in saying that letters of summons to this Council were addressed to presbyters as well as Bishops. Look, again, at Constantine's letter to Chrestus; it is the Bishop who is addressed and told to bring two presbyters.[1] Here there would have been a good opportunity to add laics. We do find laics, in a sense, added: but they were to be *famuli*.[2] We are not arguing about the rights of priests: otherwise I might show that Barsumas was only admitted as a member of the *Latrocinium* in subservience to imperial commands; the proceeding was an anomaly. It is quite a by-point; but whereas you read κατὰ πασῆς στερρότητος in Pulcheria's letter to the Consular, Mansi reads μετά.[3] Of course, the sense is, 'with all strictness.'

I say nothing about present plans of synodical reconstruction, except that the present 'movement' seems utterly to reject any inferiority of position or limitation of powers in regard to 'laymen, members of Synod,' and you abstain from saying what powers you would leave to them. Of course, I value any acknowledgment that the average laic is not by right on the same

[1] Mansi, ii. 466C. [2] *Ibid.*, 466D. [3] *Ibid.*, vi. 556C.

footing with the ordained pastors. But I fear that Archbishop Benson (whose remarks in his Cyprian show too much of the *parti pris*) would have given no support to any such distinction.

This is all that I have time to say, and, as Term is at hand, and I am constrained just now to husband my strength (having been somewhat of an invalid for some time), I cannot continue the discussion. I am afraid we must accept the fact that our standpoints, or starting-points, somewhat differ.

A private letter to the Editor of The Guardian, *thanking him for a leading article on the Archbishops' decision as to Reservation.*

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
May 4, 1900.

I cannot help thanking you for the leading article on the Reservation decision.

I could never seriously doubt that the Archbishops would find themselves obliged to maintain the present unlawfulness of the practice in any form.

I should have laid chief stress on the rubric, and used the dictum of Judge Coleridge *re* the Ornaments Rubric, to the effect that where any sentence in one of the formularies is grammatically plain, and incapable of being diversely interpreted, we have no call to go behind it in order to inquire into the possible intention of its framers.

It is far better that a practice which has been

taken up without sufficient authority should be checked, than that clergymen should be encouraged to resort to such argumentative twistiness as cannot be reconciled with an ingenuous treatment of documents, and is quite sure to aggravate the existing suspicions as to clerical veracity.

I rejoice that *The Guardian* has taken so direct a line as to the question of lawfulness, and at the same time one which will indicate sympathy with all reasonable wishes for a reconsideration, in existing circumstances, of certain rather antique rules.

To the Rev. ——, on the 'new ritualism.'

CHRIST CHURCH,
April 21, 1900.

I quite feel with you as to the danger involved in the Roman-mindedness which is so unhappily prevalent among some—I trust not many—of the most energetic of our clergy at this time. If the most literal obedience in matters ceremonial were rendered to Archiepiscopal rulings or Episcopal monitions, that would not go to the root of the evil, which consists in the adoption of Roman ideas, and Roman standards of judgment, as to Christian and Church life, and in the deliberate effort to carry them out in spite of all Anglican principles or formularies. It is a whole way of looking at things that is in question; and if men were consistent, those who have accepted it, and assimilated the preconception on which it rests, would forthwith submit to Rome.

To the Rev. ——, on 'extremists' in the English Church; non-communicating attendance, etc.

Christ Church,
May 19, 1900.

The extraordinary twistiness and lack of argumentative directness, not to say fairness, which one observes in the extremist writers, are another indication of the extent to which the Roman temper has, in them, mastered the English. I do not see how, in face of the unequivocal grammatical sense of the rubric, the Archbishops could have given any different exposition of the present Church law.

As to non-communicating attendance, I should say that it required very distinct safeguards. A person attending is, I hold, *ipso facto* in an inferior position to a person who also communicates; this the first Prayer-Book emphasized by ordering such persons to 'depart out of the quire.'[1] I do not admit that anyone can fully join in the Eucharistic oblation who does not also, at the time, communicate; and it is, I think, corrupt teaching which encourages people to think that the two acts can be thus disjoined. The result is that, whereas, according to the proper idea of the service, communion is the primary element and sacrifice the derivative or secondary, this order is practically reversed among Romans, and to a great extent among some of our own brethren. The assistant at a celebration, or the celebrant, ought surely to read the Epistle facing the people.

[1] Third Rubric after the Offertory; *cf.* Cardwell, *Two Liturgies, etc.*, p. 281.

To the Rev. ——, on the recent action of the E.C.U.

CHRIST CHURCH,
St. Peter's Day, 1900.

I, too, am scandalized and alarmed by the line taken at the recent E.C.U. meeting. As for the Declaration, what strikes me is its extraordinary want of charitable considerateness. The framers wished to manifest their adherence to a certain Eucharistic belief, but, one presumes, to do so in the manner most persuasive to great masses of their fellow-Churchmen, who are deeply prejudiced against it. In such circumstances, the natural course would be to choose the least technical and the least disputable terms that were consistent with such belief. They have taken precisely the opposite line; they do not say what they mean by the terms Body and Blood, which to many Englishmen would suggest, I suppose, the Body and Blood under material conditions. And they use the highly equivocal phrase 'under the forms,' which has really no authority from our formularies. If one wanted to lead a person higher up towards full Eucharistic ideas, one would begin much further back, and suggest the uniqueness of the Holy Eucharist as more than an ordinary sacramental channel or means of grace, etc. Why, one asks, in so critical a moment, was this obvious counsel of Christian prudence neglected? As for the President's speeches, I gladly note one or two saving clauses, which recognise a distinction between different classes of Catholic custom; but

I observe the same principle laid down as before, that the Church of England has not the right, in regard to observances of human origin, which she undoubtedly claims in her XXXIVth Article. And when he talks of Protestantism and private judgment as involved in the notion that she can abolish Catholic usages, one asks whether private judgment could go to a further point than the claim of individual priests to interpret, each for himself, our formularies by the light of Catholic usages, and withal to say which of such usages have, and which have not, a primary obligation.

To talk as if the rubric of 1661-62 did not grammatically and literally exclude Reservation is to misuse terms very gravely, and to parallel the honour done to statues of the Blessed Virgin Mary with flowers set on Lord Beaconsfield's statue is to insult common-sense. Why does not some real theologian in the E.C.U. Council exercise some control upon that excellent and truly lovable man whom the society has exalted into its lay pope? N——'s speech was all very well; but in regard to the Declaration it was apologetic, as if he were conscious of the weak points in the formulary: as how could he not be? It is all very distressing, and bodes a serious rent in the 'Catholic' school or party or section, and I associate the danger very closely with the President's own enormous imprudence in the negotiations which he carried on as to Anglican Orders with a view to corporate reunion. That reference of his to a phrase of Keble's in a letter will furnish matter for Kensit. The context shows—(1) that Keble was in favour

of a tablet commemorating the blessings of the Reformation, as opposed to a monument in honour of three Reformers; (2) that in the self-same letter[1] (January, 1839) Keble writes, *The great thing is obeying one's superiors when one really knows their wishes.* Would this have been an unwelcome quotation for that excitable assembly? What one sees in some of these lay theologians is a disposition to treat the Reformation as a negligible accident in the history of the Church of England.

To the Rev. ——, of Brighton, on the 'new ritualism.'

CHRIST CHURCH,
October 12, 1900.

I very much doubt whether you can find four South-Country saints whose names will suggest anything or whose example will teach. St. Aldhelm would be only a name to your folk; Wilfrid, I dare say, some of them have heard of. I recollect that Archdeacon Hannah preached and published a sermon about him. I think that, if I were providing for a window of four lights to be contributed by children, I should select a few young saints, whose stories could be told to them, and would then take hold of their sympathies, such as St. Agnes, or St. Pancras, or St. Sebastian, or St. Ponticus of Vienne (Eus., *H.E.* v. 1).

Why did Kensit obtain thousands of votes from your Brightonians? Was the number swollen, as has been suggested to me, by votes given on the

[1] Quoted in Liddon, *Life of Pusey*, ii. p. 71.

part of Liberals? Or are we to set it down to the Protestant wrath which has been evoked—I cannot say, to one's surprise—by the Roman doings of such a church as ——? Anyhow, it is a disagreeable revelation of the hold which can be gained over lower middle-class folk by the vulgarest and most insolent of agitators if he only comes forward in the name of Protestantism.

One of the mischiefs of the 'new ritualism' is that it impairs the sense of truthfulness in the construction of documents and of the obligations which they involve. The priest who made that remark to you was surely well advanced on the road which ends in the acceptance and assimilation of Roman casuistry in its most disingenuous form. If such modes of interpretation were applied to the ordinary affairs of secular life, they would root out the very principle of honour. But, then, in Roman ethics honour is a natural, not a supernatural, principle, and falsehood, in any of its thousand forms, is but a venial sin, not a mortal one.

VII

Personal

To the Rev ——, on a sermon by Dr. Liddon.

University College,
March 18, 1865.

Liddon preached yesterday evening in St. Mary's. The church was crowded, if not quite full, before the bells began, and people came streaming in afterwards. It was a wonderful sight. Your President sat on a low chair, having no other seat open to him, in front of the pulpit; Gregory cowered under the pulpit stairs; Russell and Claude and others were in the organ-gallery; Peter's beard was seen near the door; Donaldson stood at the choir entrance; Christopher was conspicuous with his ear-trumpet. The 'Rock of Ages' was very striking, rising up from so great a throng. Liddon's subject was the struggle against the undue exaltation of intellect;[1] his text 2 Cor. v. 10. A very Liddonian sermon: a dash of polished sarcasm at the mercenary intellect, which writes down faith in the papers 'at so

[1] *University Sermons*, i., pp. 165 *sqq.* (ed. 9).

much per annum—done'; the vain, self-advertising intellect—the sensualized—the cynical. He fully recognised the sphere and claims of intellect; Faith does not require for her own safety that Reason should be insulted. But there are three fortresses of rebellious intellect which have to be 'cast down': (1) 'The notion of Reason's all-sufficiency, as if there were no higher world above her sphere as to which Revelation must inform us.' (2) 'That, at least, if there is a Revelation, it must not include any mysteries.' He was magnificent here; defined a mystery as 'a truth indirectly seen, apprehended but not comprehended,' and employed Butler's argument from the analogy of mysteries in Nature—*e.g.*, the beautiful mystery of vegetation. (3) Then, the third stronghold was, 'That even if a Revelation and mysteries be admitted, there must at least be no dogmas.' You can imagine how he met this: showing that, if a man believed a religious idea to be truth, he must in consistency say it was truth; which is dogma. To say 'There is one God' was to dogmatize—that is, to assert the dogmatic principle as much as if one went through the Athanasian Creed. The 'real crime of dogma' was that it gave reality to religious belief, etc.

To the Rev. ——, *on Liddon, Mozley, Colenso.*

University College,
March 24, 1865.

Liddon has removed his Sunday Lectures into the Hall of Queen's. The good old Provost,

quite unsolicited, offered it to him. Liddon, in thanking him, said: 'I hope, if you find that any of the Fellows don't quite like it, you will recall your kind offer without scruple.' The Provost consulted the Fellows; no one made any objection. Is not this grand? Liddon calls it the Feast of the Translation. His face was quite radiant on Sunday evening.

* * * * *

Liddon has sent his name as a candidate for the Bampton Lectureship, but doesn't expect success.

Mozley's lecture[1] last Sunday was to the effect that the expectation of an unbroken 'course of nature' was not based on any reasoning, but was a presumption, an instinct, therefore could not be a rational bar to evidence for miracles.

As to the Colenso Judgment, I send you *The Churchman*, which you can return. *The Guardian* is very vigorous, so is *The Daily News*, which says that the Judgment treats the Colonial Church in a 'one-sided' way, denying it the advantages, and trying to impose on it the disadvantages, of an Establishment. However, says *The Daily News*, 'Colenso has triumphed, like Samson; he has pulled down the house on his foes—and on himself.' 'He is a Bishop of anywhere or nowhere.' 'This is not what he or his counsel wanted.' He wanted to carry State Church law with him into his diocese: he finds that if the law does not support Bishop Gray as Metropolitan, neither will it support him as Diocesan. However, *now* the South African Church must be

[1] Mozley's Bampton Lectures, No. 2.

allowed freedom, like any other voluntary communion—like Roman Catholics or Wesleyans. Very well done, *Daily News!*

It is clear that, if the Bishops of South Africa have as Diocesans no legal status, the Royal Supremacy has no right of hearing appeals from them, unless it will claim such a right as to the proceedings of Wesleyans. Now, as Dr. Pusey says, the South African Church will act freely, and it will not accept Colenso, nor will the law force him back upon it.

To the Rev. ——, on the election of a Bampton Lecturer, and on St. Cyril and St. Leo.

Oxford,
May 20, 1865.

Liddon was voted for by seven Heads, Haddan by seven; and the Vice-Chancellor gave a casting vote for Haddan on the ground that he had competed before. Haddan's subject is the authority of Creeds.[1] I hope we shall secure two good Bamptons running; for Liddon's success next year is, humanly speaking, certain. Liddon is going to publish a volume of Oxford sermons, and is so good as to wish to dedicate them to me.[2]

A Tinnevelly missionary, writing to Burrows, mentions my book[3] with much kind language, and says that he had been wont to render St. Leo's

[1] *Cf. Haddan's Remains*, pp. xxvi, xxvii.
[2] *University Sermons*, vol. i.
[3] Bright, *Sermons of St. Leo*, 1st ed., 1862; 2nd, 1886.

sermons into Tamil, and deliver them to his Indian flock, their antithetical vigour being congenial to Tamil. This was before he fell in with my Leo.

As to St. Cyril, I think I may say to you that I consider my account of him[1] to be much more just than Robertson's,[2] and Robertson doesn't seem to me to have gone to original sources, as I was careful to do. No doubt he began, as a young Archbishop, in a style which showed a rather undisciplined temper and a want of scrupulousness as to the machinery to be used in the Church's service. But the real cause why modern Liberals so bitterly hate him is that he stood up so pertinaciously for dogma. And yet, when he thought essential unity in dogma secured, he was willing to make great concessions, as in the case of John of Antioch.

To the Rev. ——, on Keble's death and Miss Yonge.

University College,
May 3, 1866.

I dined with the Warden of New College yesterday, and met Miss Yonge. She was most interesting and delightful to talk to. She told me that Keble's last words were, 'More white flowers' — apparently with some reference to Maundy Thursday and his own church. Her

[1] Bright, *History of the Church*, 313-451, p. 370.
[2] Robertson, *History of the Christian Church*, ii. pp. 180 *sqq.* (ed. 1876).

mother told me several very interesting things about the composition of her books, and seemed pleased with the admiration which I most sincerely professed for them.

To the Rev. ——, on his appointment to the Professorship.

University College,
November 6, 1868.

I most cordially thank you for your kind and welcome letter. I seem to swim in assurances of satisfaction and goodwill. But my friends will, on reflection, appreciate the difficulties and anxieties which a sphere of Church work like this, which is now before me, must needs involve.

I have had a most kind letter from the Bishop of London.

To the Rev. ——, in reply to his defence of an article by the late Professor Shuttleworth on 'Christian Secularism' in The Oxford House Chronicle, No. 7.

Christ Church, Oxford,
October 5, 1887.

I do not think that I need go over the ground which is traversed by my letter to H——; it is enough for the present purpose to touch on the points which your letter takes up, and to refer to your own tract, which I had read some time ago, and am glad of an occasion for reading again, and thankful to possess in another copy.

You think that I am 'rather hard on' Shuttleworth, and that I practically confound his line with Mr. Barnett's. Well, I do not think that I am in the habit of judging any writer otherwise than by his own words; and as I have known Shuttleworth for (I may now say) many years, personal feeling would prevent me, if nothing else did, from censuring anything that bore his signature without deliberateness, and apart from grave cause, or, at any rate, what seems to myself grave cause.

Now let us see. I put aside at the outset all considerations foreign to *The Oxford House Chronicle*, No. 7, or, indeed, to the paper itself signed by Shuttleworth. I mean that we have nothing to do in this case with Shuttleworth's general teaching in his church or elsewhere. We must suppose ourselves to be in the position of East London secularists, or, at any rate, East London non-religious persons, reading this one article. What is its purpose? To conciliate the secular mind, by showing that Christianity itself takes full account of secular interests. Very well. Now let us look at the terms used. 'The bettering,' or 'the better ordering, of this world,' are pivot phrases, so to speak, in the article. The similarity to be established turns upon them.

Now, is it not manifest that they will have one meaning for a non-religious and another for a religious mind? The former looks to morality *minus* religious motives as its highest aim, and also subordinately to social and political improvements. To a religious mind all these improve-

ments are — not unimportant, certainly — but subordinate not merely to a non-religious ethical standard, but to the higher standard set forth in Christ's teaching.

Now, Shuttleworth's article encourages—I say it deliberately, though without imputing to him this or that intention—it *verbally* encourages the non-religious conception of this 'bettering.' Bodily health, 'wholesome food,' preservation of life, 'reform' of society, 'progress of the people': where does he mention conformity to a Divine example, loyalty to a Divine Master, responsiveness to a Divine call, employment of a Divine power or force? Where does he find room for the supernaturalism, so to call it, of Christian morality? The spiritual importance of Christ's 'signs' is suppressed. (I wonder whether he forgets John vi. 26, 27, or whether he takes account of the fact that when our Lord disparaged relatively the value of signs and wonders as evidences of His mission He was referring to the lack of spiritual appreciation in the minds of His fellow-countrymen.) Worse still, the Sermon on the Mount is described thus: 'Nearly all of it consists of instruction as to duty in this life.' Yes; but here the special motive power appealed to throughout the Sermon, the very conception of 'duty' therein set forth, is conspicuous by its absence. I never saw a graver case of *suppressio*. Does anyone imagine that an intelligent secularist reading just this article and then the Sermon will not at once see and resent a representation which keeps in the background its theology? Look on

to the next paragraph, and the Church is described as 'existing to make this world better.' Yes, so I should say also; but in what sense, by what means? What would St. Paul have said if anyone had told him that a Christian priest, trained up in the study of his writings, had told unbelievers that this 'bettering' was the improvement of men's 'secular' condition, 'the promotion of the advance and progress of the people'? I need not, I think, go further. Surely you cannot, on reflection, maintain that a Christian writer, undertaking to recommend, to represent, Christianity to non-Christians, is not called upon to take account of, is justified in leaving out of sight, that which makes Christianity a living and energizing religion? If he does leave out of sight, if he does not take account of, these characteristic elements of our faith, he surely does grave injustice, I do not say merely to the claims of the faith or his own conscience, but to the facts which he professes to handle.

Doubtless, he ought not to appeal to the disbeliever by means of principles not yet accepted by the mind which he wishes to influence. Doubtless, he ought not to state Christian doctrine in forms which are likely to give needless offence. Doubtless, he ought to be tender, cautious, equitable, Pauline—*cela va sans dire*. But to undertake to show what Christianity is, and present it as it is, cleared from misapprehensions which are said to have been caused by a narrow or Puritanical representation of its doctrines, and then to omit, almost or altogether,

what differentiates it from a philosophy or a non-religious school of conduct,—what are we, from the standpoint of simple literary fairness, to say of such a proceeding?

You will permit me to summarize my objection to Shuttleworth's article by comparing it with your own tract. Had the article resembled the tract, I should have been thankful for it. The tract exactly supplies what the article, most culpably, omits. The tract speaks out, not only of Christian motives, which is much; but also, repeatedly, emphatically, unmistakably, of Christian 'grace,' of the 'power that is working in us,' of a 'sustaining strength'—yes, of a 'Divine Humanity imparting itself,' which is much more. I wish that your tract were in the hands of every secularist in London; I could wish that Shuttleworth's paper had never been printed; and that, just because its line is so defective where the line of your tract is so satisfactory.

P.S.—I would not even appear to be unmindful of the circumstances which have led Shuttleworth into his present line of public utterance. I seem to myself to understand pretty well what has thus acted on his naturally warm and even passionate sympathies. He is an instance, to my mind, of what Dr. Liddon once said to me: 'Sympathy is an excellent servant, but a bad master.' I know that he has attracted not a few minds, previously alienated from all religion. If he had had more balance of mind, more steadfastness in the grasp of principles, he might have

become a great power for good, a true 'pillar' of 'the house of God,' in London. Years, perhaps, may even yet bring him up to this point of usefulness. But at present he is possessed by a passion for what I may call Concessionism. The outsiders are to be brought in—*quocunque modo*. But it often ends in the insiders going out to them. I told him long ago to beware lest, when he stretched forth his hand to the secularist or non-religious mind on the other side of the gap, he might find a wrist stronger than his own. Then he is, moreover, possessed by a democratic enthusiasm; and, lastly, he has become the disciple, the shield-bearer, of Mr. Stewart Headlam; with what results let a recent report of the Guild of St. Matthew explain. There one sees Mr. Headlam, and therefore Shuttleworth, ready to revolutionize the Church in order to satisfy Demos. Long ago I had a correspondence with Shuttleworth as to this ominous tendency, but in vain. *Liberavi animam meam* was all that I could say at the end. Oh that he, and others, would remember practically that they are not called upon to produce results by means of their own choosing, but to be faithful to a high trust, and to remember who is the Master and Guide of all souls!

To the Rev. Canon ——, on Cardinal Newman.

September 17, 1890; *February* 11, 1891.

I think that Newman's spiritual and moral power, as put forth in the first volume of the

Parochial Sermons, was greater and more valuable than you have quite allowed for. . . . Depend upon it, our predecessors were not so much mistaken in treating him for several years as the true head of the Movement, whether or not he accepted that position. For once that I turn to Pusey's sermons I turn fifty times to Newman's—I mean, of course, the 'Parochial.' Hutton's book on his career is deeply interesting. There can surely be no doubt that his was a much larger, more complex, more vividly and manifoldly energetic character than either Pusey's or Keble's. . . . But a good deal, no doubt, of the popular homage to his memory is worship of genius: and that is not a worship for sober Christians.

To the Rev. Canon ——, on Mr. Gladstone's Romanes Lecture.

October 26, 1892.

Gladstone's lecture showed his irrepressible fidelity to the Tractarian tradition. The Premier of a Radical Government insisted on doing full justice to Archbishop Laud. For this, and for the truly wonderful way in which he brought out St. Paul's very mind and soul when he read the second lesson of last Sunday morning in the Cathedral, I confess, I am grateful to him.

To the Rev. ——, in answer to a request for advice as to adapting part of Henri Perreyve's 'Stations of the Cross.'

SCARBOROUGH,
August 12, 1893.

I confess, I do not like adaptations of passages characteristically Roman. First, they seem to be hardly fair to the original. And should we like a Dissenter to adapt some typical Anglican book, by seriously modifying its sacramental language? When Neale adapted the *Pilgrim's Progress* in a Churchly sense, he made himself justly obnoxious to Macaulay's incisive sarcasm; but an admirer of Bunyan's theology might have taken up a graver objection. Then, secondly, it is (I fancy) the rarest thing in the world to see an adaptation so executed as not to present the appearance of the 'new cloth agreeing not with the old.' The reader is set wondering what the original was like. If you insert it in a footnote, you betray the general (Roman) character of the material you are utilizing; if you leave it dark, the mind instantly speculates as to whether you have altered more than was necessary, and so forth. Moreover, specially, the original here is French. Now, is it not next to impossible to bring French devotional sentiment into line with English? This is so, unless I mistake, even where the French original has no trace of Roman peculiarities. Here, for instance, to class the Blessed Virgin Mary among 'dear gentle ones' may seem all right to a *dévote*

French lady; to Anglicans, male or female, it is likely enough to cause nausea. Again, what warrant have we for saying that our Lord did meet His blessed Mother on the way to the Cross? Absolutely none. The only sources of real knowledge as to what happened on that awful forenoon are totally silent about it. Ought we, then, to assert it, and, very specially, in an act of devout meditation which professedly brings the soul straight up into the presence of God? Here, I suppose, the French and the English religious minds differ so widely as to be incapable of juxtaposition. A French Christian—at least, a French Catholic—would probably wonder at the question being raised. 'It is a pious opinion,' or 'it is very sweet, touching, edifying; it stirs up the tenderest devotional feeling. What can be the hindrance to expressing it?' And if the Anglican answers, 'Simply that one does not know it to be grounded on truth or fact, and that, in such intensely sacred matter, to go beyond truth is really to forfeit edification,' I can imagine the French shoulders to be shrugged, and the French lips to murmur something gently contemptuous as to the Teutonic dulness and (perhaps) the Teutonic overvaluing of veracity. Never mind, we can't help it; we are Teutons, and write for Teutons, and it is one of the favours granted to our race to have learned more as to the essentialness of veracity than has ever come home to the Latin Catholic mind abroad.

This is more than I meant to inflict upon you; but, to sum up, I should be disposed, if the affair

were mine, simply to omit the whole passage, and in a very brief footnote to give the reason why.

To an Oxford undergraduate who had migrated to Christ's College, Cambridge, on modern Cambridge theology.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
October 20, 1893.

I was very glad to hear from you; I should have replied at once, but, as you may suppose, one has lived in a whirl during this first week of Term—this first week of a new Oxford year.

It is curious to think of you as a member of Milton's College.

I dare say you will profit by new points of view as presented by Cambridge life. What you have already, it appears, verified by a brief experience has been, to my mind, illustrated by the peculiar strength, and also, if one may say so, the peculiar shortcomings, of modern Cambridge theology. I hope I shall not seem to ignore the former; but while Westcott was the dominant Cambridge teacher (we are thinking of theology), I never, for my part, could help the feeling that he was an Alexandrian Father revived under modern conditions. By some, such a phrase might be used in pure admiration; it is the fashion (for reasons which seem to me very obvious, but not at all decisive) to exalt Alexandrianism, and depress, to the lowest depths, Augustinianism. Westcott, like Clement of Alexandria, seemed to me to take his reader through a golden Platonic mist; I was not

sure where I stood, or what definite objects were within view. Possibly the recollection of Liddon's opinion weighed much with me. The present Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge is a theologian of a more definite and, I imagine, a more ecclesiastical type; his two books on the doctrine of the Holy Spirit[1] are most helpful; he will revive doctrinal theology where its place has been somewhat too much occupied by historical criticism.

It is curious that, while one class of Cambridge minds is apt to put the literary interest of sacred studies above that which is more directly religious, and to do scant justice to the supernaturalism of Christianity as the Church has apprehended it, another class, the ultras, as they might be called, on the Catholic side, present Church ideas, too often, in a form altogether too hard to be attractive; I believe I am said to have called it 'spiky,' in a letter to my friend the Principal of Ely College. Canon Law, it seems, can be idolized; I own I should fear that this *cultus* would provoke a vehement recoil. The mistake made seems to be like a putting forward of 'the letter that killeth,'—of Church law in itself, mandatory and rigidly obligatory, as the ground of this or that devotional practice, which is better recommended on moral grounds, as by 'the Spirit that giveth life.'

If I write under what some on the banks of

[1] Swete, *On the early history of the doctrine of the Holy Spirit*, 1873; and *On the early history of the doctrine of the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, 1876.

Cam might call the influence of Oxford prejudice, I still regard myself, you see, as writing to an Oxford man. I shall be glad to hear from you again some time, as to your ordination prospects.

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on Dean Butler.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 16, 1894.

Yes, Butler's death is a great loss indeed. I grieve the more because it might, humanly speaking, have been postponed: he seems to have caught a chill in returning late at night, or in the evening, from preaching in a church built by the late Mr. E. Stanhope, at the request of the widow. He loved preaching here and there: his restless temperament would not have endured a long stay at Lincoln without breaks of that kind. I do not think he was eminently qualified to be the head of a great Cathedral. His habits had made him centre his keenest interest in work closely related to his own individuality, such as was the work at Wantage: he could not easily merge himself in a majestic institution independent of himself or of any other of its temporary guardians. But as a parish priest—at any rate, as a country parish priest—he was unrivalled. His long pastorate at Wantage was epoch-making. He had very noble qualities of heart and mind, and although he was often too impulsive, and far too apt to put all his opinions into the extremest form of statement, so as to damage his own cause, as I well recollect

on several occasions in Convocation, yet one forgot all this in thinking of his thorough self-devotion and his splendid generosity of soul. He is to be buried in the Minster cloister on Thursday.

To the Rev. Canon ——, on Purcell's Life of Manning.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 22, 1896.

Thank you again. If I have the opportunity, I will look at those parts of the *Life of Manning* to which you refer. The whole biography I should have no time to read. And the man himself is not to me an attractive figure. Perhaps there is in my feeling about him a certain small atom of resentment, for I once believed in him as almost a typical Anglican leader, and rejoiced in reading and re-reading those three volumes of his Anglican sermons, which contain, indeed, as one now feels, so incomparably less than the sermons of Newman or Church, but which had the attraction of an intensely musical rhythm, and, often enough, of an exquisite felicitousness of phraseology. We did not dream in those days, when one might hear him at Merton or St. Mary's, that he would come out ere many years as the type of Roman methods of Church administration, far away more morally and intrinsically Roman than the far greater man who was his junior in the Cardinalate because he was so much less in accord with Roman ecclesiastical traditions of life

and work. It is impossible, I fancy, to overrate the extent to which he was indebted for success in his Roman career to that beautiful face, that unearthly stillness and absorbedness of demeanour, and those tones that used at least to thrill one as representing a vision of the unseen. . . .

Curious it is to recollect that I heard him preach the anti-Papal sermon on November 5 which vexed the soul of Newman! Manning may have hated the Jesuits (I know not why), but he was universally credited with some skill in that species of priestcraft which is popularly associated with their name. He made administration his object, and seems to have been as masterful in pursuing it as he would have the Pope be in the government of the 'Catholic' world. But what will be his place in religious history?

To the Venerable Archdeacon ——, on impressions of Rome and Pompeii.

Christ Church, Oxford,
April 26, 1896.

I have within the last three days returned from a very successful and delightful visit to Rome. G—— could well understand the indescribable pleasure and unique interest of such a first visit; I am still hoping that I may some day (next year) achieve a second. We were happy in having extremely pleasant and helpful companions, and, above all, a most competent guide to many places of interest in Mr. Douglas Hamilton, Vicar of

Holy Trinity, Halifax. Ten nights in Rome made up, to be sure, only a short time for seeing the great sights; as for museums, we could only visit those in the Vatican. St. Peter's itself is stupendous, but not, in a religious sense, so impressive as St. John Lateran or the very magnificent Church of St. Paul outside the walls, or, perhaps, one or two others. We stayed at an excellent hotel, the *Russie*, near the northern gate, the Porta del Popolo, from which three main-streets radiate, and we had access to a lovely garden, rich in orange-trees, camellias, and flowers of all sorts. I did not see much of the Roman services; but one was very touching and solemn —a *Te Deum* in St. Peter's for the anniversary of the Pope's coronation. The music was grand and severe, and clerics or seminarists, among whom I found myself, took up the strain with deep Italian voices and evident earnestness. Altogether, I wished that I had seen Rome many years sooner; it is a distinct step in one's education. The fears as to unhealthiness are much less now that the Italian Government has vigorously undertaken sanitary improvements; in fact, one cannot doubt that it was high time for the Papal sovereignty to come to an end. We had two nights at Naples, and saw Pompeii to great advantage; it is awful, and might serve as a visible commentary on our Lord's words as to the days of Lot. We also stayed one night in Turin (a beautiful, radiant, cheery city), and another in Genoa, the magnificence of which, however, we had not time to appreciate. I believe that one

ought to look at it from the sea. The Alps were snow-clad in many places. But, ah, the exquisite charm of the Italian sky and of the brilliant Mediterranean!

To the Rev. ——, a letter of sympathy and encouragement; Archbishop Benson's death; the Armenians.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
October 16, 1896.

I am sorry about the difficulty you describe. I suppose it arises from some arrangement as to the subordinate chapelries of the big parish, which you have to serve in turn while the early Celebration is going on in the old church. This inability of old men to understand the wants of their juniors is a great trial to the latter, and should be carefully guarded against, and, so far as possible, counteracted on the part of the former. As one gets old, one understands it better; the consciousness of not wanting this or that, or of not assimilating this or that line of thought in one's own person, generates a sort of irrational resentment against those who care for objects which one does not appreciate, or adopt opinions which are not one's own. I don't mean that we seniors always feel thus, but that one sees how one might get to feel so. The man who most splendidly overcame this senile tendency and kept most helpfully in touch with his juniors was Dean Church. But, as you say, the privation of sacramental opportunities may be turned to good account; it will

then become an effectual safeguard against a mechanical sacramentalism, the caricature and perversion of that which is Spiritual and true.

For it may bring home to one the fact that in sacraments one is dealing with a personal Lord who is greater than His own consecrated instruments, and can, at His will, exuberantly supply outside them the grace which they ordinarily convey. Ours is a great mission : to represent, both towards other souls and towards our own, the Spirituality of ordinances—of the Church as an institution, of the priesthood, of the organized system which we call sacramental, etc.

I am very glad that you have already seen some success in your work with the young fellows. It is the most important part, from one point of view, of parochial work, because it touches the men of the future, and diminishes that special difficulty of 'getting hold of the men.' Those poor lads! How much is against them when they try to keep straight! How much to deter them from using helps, lest they should seem to be 'crawling to the parson'! I always wonder how an agnostic moralist would deal with them. He would probably be obliged to leave them to their animalism.

The Archbishop's death is a blow which makes the whole Church reel. In itself it was enviable, and there was a beautiful dramatic completeness in such a close of such a career. I know of hardly any similar case. Fletcher of Madeley, a very saintly clergyman of the early Methodist period, passed away almost immediately after

administering Communion, and Bishops doubtless have been employed in sacred offices up to the last hour. The late Primate had much nobleness, vast sweetness, a rare power of sympathy, and more administrative ability in the discharge of a tremendous office than he was at first expected to show. In many respects he far outshone Tait. *The Times* fairly observes that he understood High Churchmen as Tait never did, and Tait never attracted such widespread and personal affection. The scene in Canterbury Cathedral to-day will be unique in its pathetic solemnity; there is a value in that insistence on the Church's continuity which has fixed on that Cathedral as his place of interment. We have had a Celebration this morning in memorial of him whom the newspapers instinctively describe as the Head of the English Church.

I suppose we may hope that the young Tsar's conference with Lord Salisbury has produced at least some good—has prepared the ground for a combination of Russian and French influence, not against, but for the victims of Turkish barbarity. Russia has deeply disgraced herself by allowing jealousy and vindictive feeling towards England to keep back the interference which would have saved so many Christian lives. But if she repents and will amend, let her do so. We, too, have much to repent of as a nation: our recent disappointments and humiliations are a just penalty for the antichristian policy in which Beaconsfield and, unhappily, Salisbury, as his lieutenant, involved us after the Crimean War.

To the same, on the difficulties of young lads.

Christ Church, Oxford,
October 20, 1896.

I don't believe we can at all realise the difficulties which beset the upward path for lads or young fellows working in a mill, or, indeed, in any house of business, as, for instance (to take a case that I know of here), a printing-office. They have to stand the fire of all manner of gibes and sneers, and coarse imputations of hypocrisy, and positive attacks upon their faith—as to which a propaganda of infidel objections is being systematically carried out, even in villages, much more in towns. It is mysterious that so formidable a trial should be laid upon such young souls. But what may one not hope for those who are helped to go through it without harm! That wonderful verse about the three young men (unfortunately called the 'three holy children'), 'on whose bodies the fire had no power,' might be sung with an Alleluia! after it, whenever such a case rejoices the heart of a pastor.

To the same, on his ordination to the priesthood.

Christ Church, Oxford,
Trinity Sunday, 1897.

I was thinking only yesterday that you would probably be ordained priest on this Trinity Sunday, and I rejoice to have that supposition confirmed with your own hand. I need not assure you of my best wishes. I can sympathize with

you on such a day as this by help of some very vivid recollections of my first ordination on a Trinity Sunday at Cuddesdon. It was just such a brilliant summer morning as this is, and I recall a walk round the palace garden before the service with a fellow-ordinand, who is now Archdeacon Furse. The sight and the scent of seringas seems always to bring back that hour. I should like to go over to Cuddesdon on Trinity Sunday for the service, but ecclesiastical luncheons are an infliction which I avoid when I can. Ah! that dear old Church of St. Mary of Southwell, which was so long reckoned as one of the three secondary churches of the Diocese of York! I have a love for it which goes back sixty years. For my private school was just opposite the north gate of the Minster churchyard, and it was in that Minster—now, I rejoice to think, the Cathedral—that I first learned what the dignity of worship meant.

To the Rev. J. G. Adderley, on St. Frideswide as a dedication.

WORCESTER,
St. John Baptist.
[1898].

Your letter finds me here. I have been ordered to take brine baths at Droitwich.

Will 'St. Frideswide' be an intelligible dedication in your people's eyes, I wonder? Her celebrity is purely local. She was not a martyr, only a virgin and Abbess, and very little is really known about her. Our first church at Oxford

was for ages St. Mary's, and to my ear there is no dedication like that! Wolsey kept that beautiful and sacred name in the dedication of his college; so, I think, did Henry in his first foundation, not in the final foundation of 1546. Double dedications are not uncommon. St. Frideswide's name came after that of the Blessed Virgin Mary in Wolsey's dedication; but practically they are not convenient, and at Oxford 'SS. Mary and John' has succeeded in establishing itself, but St. James's name is usually absorbed by St. Philip's when the church named after both is mentioned. I do not think that 'St. Frideswide's and All Saints' would do well. (I used to think St. Andrew's would be appropriate, because of 'There is a lad here,' and of the 'finding of his own brother.')

In honour of the saint in question is quite right; I suppose it is more usual than *in memory*.

When I say that very little is really known about our foundress, I only mean that I distrust much of the legend that grew up around her name. I don't feel sure of anything, save that she was a Mercian lady, who in the first half of the eighth century founded a nunnery on the site of Christ Church. The Dean, when preaching at an anniversary connected with the removal of her remains to a worthier shrine, took pleasure in the significance of her name, 'the bond of peace.' I wish she were more of a historic personage, with a real life and something specific in her character and example. Some sceptics have doubted her existence. That be far from me!

To the same, on his little book Our Crucifix.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
July 20, 1898.

I am not capable, I trust, of letting a note of yours go unanswered. I must needs be brief—and for you, too, the less your time is invaded by letters to be read, the better.

I must be brief, I say, because this is the week of 'summer lectures to clergy,' and I have daily occupation of that kind. (This hindered me from writing yesterday.) But, in however few words, I must thank you for your letter, which touched me deeply. Truly I may say that it was just like yourself. . . . In that address of mine, I was anxious to be quite equitable; and I find just the same anxiety indicated in *Our Crucifix*. You have thoroughly emphasised the supremacy of spiritual work, and your paper contains much that we older clerics, with our more 'conservative' instincts, may well ponder and profit by. Some difference of standpoint must be allowed for; and perhaps I may suggest that the phrase 'Christian Socialist,' however closely associated with such noble memories as those of Maurice and Kingsley, is *prima facie* open to the criticism that it inverts the due order of the two terms; the substantive and the adjective ought to change places.

And one other point—just consider again the parallelism between our Lord's position (so to speak) in the Passion and that of His servants who may now believe themselves to be trustees,

in His Name, of a certain status whether political or ecclesiastical. There, surely, we may speak of rights, and the defence of them (though not in the temper that often mars Church defence, which often means Establishment defence rather than that of the Church herself). There simple passivity would be out of place, as, *e.g.*, at the Revolution of '88. Resistance to a King who had misused his charge and violated the Constitution was (*pace* the Nonjurors) entirely consistent with Christian duty. Herein, you see, I am not a follower of Keble and Pusey.

Farewell, dear fellow, and take once more my true thanks and my best wishes.

To a candidate for Holy Orders, on 'the present distress.'

September 8, 1898.

'The present distress,' I own, seems to me fraught with perilous or disastrous possibilities. Perhaps, however, one ought to say *Passi graviora*, and dwell on the next words in our own sense. . . . You young men who take Orders now have fair warning to expect trouble. But trouble, in one form or another, attends the Church throughout; and her sons know how their predecessors faced it, and drew good out of it, as water from the flinty stone.

To the Rev. ——, on a visit to Venice.

GRAND HOTEL, TURIN,
April 13, 1899.

I was delighted to receive your letter at Venice. We saw, during five full days, about as much as could be duly seen in such a period. Of course, we became perfectly familiar with *calle* and *campi* and *fundamenta*, and all the rest, and the way to St. Mark's by St. Moses' was ere long as trite as the 'High.' Why did the Venetian clergy dedicate so many churches in names from the Old Testament? Samuel, Simeon the prophet, Job, Jeremiah, Zachariah, etc. I suspect it was through Greek influence. We visited Torcello on one quiet afternoon. Its desolation and its majesty combined were very impressive. But, as you will remember, the lofty reredos with its angels obstructs the view of the unique *consessus*. I took my seat on the venerable throne, although I felt it was almost sacrilegious to venture so far. One could easily reproduce in imagination the celebration of the Eucharist on a great day by the Bishop, with all the ranks of his clergy, or a Diocesan Synod under his presidency. We also visited the Armenian monastery, which, by a strange irony of fate, owes its exemption from the wholesale dissolution of Italian religious houses to the fact of its subjection to the Porte. It is, happily, the furthest Western bit of Moslem possession; and what must its inmates have thought of their sovereign 'protector' during the

Armenian massacres, which may too justly be laid to his charge? I was interested in the library, specially because among the professorial books under my charge there is an edition of the Armenian version of Eusebius' Chronicle actually printed at the press of this Isle of St. Lazzaro. Of course, I didn't neglect to visit the sometime Cathedral of Castello, with its curious Arabian episcopal throne. It was characteristic of the Venetians to lavish all that wealth and skill and interest on St. Mark's as the ducal chapel, and allow the seat of the 'patriarchate' to remain in a very inferior church, far away from the centre of political, and even of ecclesiastical, life. However, now, and ever since 1807, the patriarchal throne stands in the sanctuary of St. Mark's, and has survived the Doges and all their 'signory.' One thing struck me specially in St. Mark's: the Marian element is not, as in so many foreign churches, predominant; the supremacy is most unequivocally reserved for the figure of our Lord Himself, repeatedly exhibited as in 'majesty.'

From Venice we went to Verona on Tuesday. It is a very characteristically Italian town, and St. Zeno's is a magnificent Romanesque basilica. . . . I expect to be at home, and to be embraced by Bess's paws, on Saturday evening.[1]

[1] Bess was his mastiff.

To the Rev. Father Page, Superior of the Society of St. John the Evangelist, Cowley St. John, Oxford.

CHRIST CHURCH, OXFORD,
January 3, 1901.

DEAR FATHER SUPERIOR,

I hope you will kindly continue your good prayers for me. I have had very little pain in my life, and I wish to take it well, and according to God's will. I have rather more hopes of getting through this, physically, than I had a week ago.

[Father Page, in enclosing the above letter, which was written within two months of Dr. Bright's death, adds: 'When I visited Dr. Bright on Monday, February 4, and began to read the evening Psalms (xxii. and xxiii.) to him at his request, he said the alternate verses with me clearly and quite audibly, without any mistake, although at that time he was in a very weak state of health. The effort seemed rather to sustain and refresh than weaken him. A few days before his death he said the Easter hymn, "Jesus Christ is risen to-day." He was in the habit of coming to our church to make his Confessions. His last Confession he made to me about three weeks before his death.']

APPENDIX

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS ON THE CHURCH, SUPPLEMENTARY TO THE CATECHISM.

ADOPTED BY THE LOWER HOUSE OF THE CONVOCATION OF CANTERBURY IN SESSIONS OF MAY 12 AND JULY 5, 6, 7, 1887.

It was intended to present this to the Upper House for their approval, but it was considered by the Primate and Bishops that matters connected with doctrine must emanate from the Upper House.

I. *Q.* What meanest thou by the Church?—*A.* I mean the Body of which Jesus Christ is the Head, and of which I was made a member in my Baptism.

II. *Q.* How is the Church described in the Creeds?—*A.* It is described as One, Holy, Catholic, and Apostolic.

III. *Q.* What meanest thou by each of these words?—*A.* I mean that the Church is One, as being One Body under the One Head; Holy because the Holy Spirit dwells in it, and sanctifies its members; Catholic, because it is for all nations and all times; and Apostolic, because it continues steadfastly in the Apostles' doctrine and fellowship.

IV. *Q.* We learn from Holy Scripture that in the Church the evil are mingled with the good. Will it always be so?—*A.* No; when our Lord comes again, He will cast the evil out of His kingdom; will make His faithful servants perfect both in body and soul; and will present His whole Church to Himself without spot, and blameless.

V. *Q.* What is the Office and Work of the Church on earth?—*A.* The Office and Work of the Church on earth is to maintain and teach everywhere the true Faith of Christ, and to be His instrument for conveying Grace to men, by the power of the Holy Ghost.

VI. *Q.* How did our Lord provide for the government and continuance of the Church?—*A.* He gave authority to His Apostles to rule the Church; to minister His Word and Sacraments; and to ordain faithful men for the continuance of this Ministry until His coming again.

VII. *Q.* What Orders of Ministers have there been in the Church from the Apostles' time?—*A.* Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

VIII. *Q.* What is the office of a Bishop?—The office of a Bishop is to be a chief Pastor and Ruler of the Church; to confer Holy Orders; to administer Confirmation; and to take the chief part in the ministry of the Word and Sacraments.

IX. *Q.* What is the office of a Priest?—*A.* The office of a Priest is to preach the Word of God; to baptize; to celebrate the Holy Communion; to pronounce Absolution and Blessing in God's Name; and to feed the flock committed by the Bishop to his charge.

X. *Q.* What is the office of a Deacon?—The office of a Deacon is to assist the Priest in Divine Service, and specially at the Holy Communion; to baptize infants in the absence of the Priest; to catechize; to preach, if authorized by the Bishop; and to search for the sick and the poor.

XI. *Q.* What is required of members of the Church?—*A.* To endeavour, by God's help, to fulfil their baptismal vows; to make full use of the means of grace; to remain steadfast in the communion of the Church; and to forward the work of the Church at home and abroad.

XII. *Q.* Why is it our duty to belong to the Church of England?—*A.* Because the Church of England has inherited and retains the Doctrine and Ministry of the One Catholic and Apostolic Church, and is that part of the Church which has been settled from early times in our country.

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CORRIGENDUM.

On p. 81, note 2, *for* '1885' *read* '1855.'

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